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New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Agenda item 9 *(continued)*

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French):* The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Ben Yahia.

Mr. Ben Yahia (Tunisia) *(interpretation from Arabic):* It is my pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, the text of the letter I have been charged by President Zein El Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia and the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to read to the General Assembly on his behalf. The President would have liked to deliver this speech himself, but for reasons beyond his control he is unable to do so. I shall therefore read his speech to the Assembly.

"I have the pleasure, first of all, to extend to you, Mr. President, my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Your election does honour both to the entire African continent and to our sister country, Côte d'Ivoire, and is also a well-deserved tribute to your excellent reputation. We are confident that your vast experience and outstanding qualities will be the best guarantee of the success of the work of the session.

"It is also a pleasure for me to reiterate my warmest congratulations to your august Assembly and to assure you of the great importance that Tunisia attaches to the laudable and sometimes exhausting efforts which the United Nations continues to deploy in the service of peace and in laying the foundations of constructive dialogue between nations.

"Tunisia, which has opted for dialogue as a means of conducting both its domestic and its foreign policies, can only support this approach, contribute to its consolidation and entrenchment.

"The innumerable peace initiatives undertaken by the United Nations are distinguished by their civilizing character, as well as by their highly humanistic orientation. The fact is that civilization cannot coexist with war, just as peace cannot exist without dialogue. There is no doubt that our United Nations system possesses, in addition to the tool of dialogue, the means whereby it is able to deal with problems that threaten peace and security in our contemporary world.

"Given the magnitude of the responsibility devolving on us all, given the accumulation of world problems in the areas of security and of the economy in particular, with all the attendant risks that arise therefrom, we are of the opinion that international solidarity requires all members of the international community to be more committed and

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to make further contributions to the search for effective solutions to such problems within the framework of the prevailing tenets of universalism and globalism.

"Five years ago, from this very rostrum, I described to your august Assembly the radical reforms which we had then undertaken to put in place in Tunisia with determination and perseverance, in the wake of the constitutional change of 7 November 1987, as we faced up to the new challenges resulting from the great changes which were confronting us within the international community.

"From the outset, we had opted, as a basic choice, for promoting the participation of our citizens and for the harnessing of their full potential in building their own future, in the conviction that such is the very essence of democracy, and its real meaning.

"Since modernization of political structures can never yield the desired results if not accompanied by a reform process covering the social and economic sectors, we promulgated laws and put in place structures which we deemed capable of liberalizing the economy and encouraging private initiative in all sectors of production. In addition, we readjusted the fiscal system and improved the functioning of the banking and financial system in order to align them with this trend. As a culmination of this process, we enacted a unified investment law and reorganized and streamlined the functioning of the administrative channels.

"At the same time, we devoted special attention to developing and strengthening our human potential in various areas, in particular through reforming our system of education and improving professional training. We also strengthened the cultural sector; consolidated the plan for the struggle against illiteracy and for the advancement of women, with a view to strengthening their rights and preserving their dignity by making them partners with full rights and duties in the work of development.

"We also attach great importance to the protection of children and of the family. In the social domain, we adopted dialogue and negotiation as the basis for relationships between the forces of production. We have also made efforts to preserve the gains of workers, to promote good working conditions, to expand social welfare coverage and to protect health and safety in the workplace while trying to increase job opportunities. At the same time, we have revitalized the values of social mutual assistance and national solidarity in order to render assistance to the disadvantaged, to help develop the outlaying areas of the country, to integrate them in the framework of the national economy and, thereby, to raise the standards of living of their inhabitants.

"The year 1994 has been a particularly momentous one for Tunisia. For the first time, a multi-party parliament has been elected. We had the honour of hosting the thirtieth summit of the Organization of African Unity and of welcoming President Nelson Mandela, hero of the struggle against racial discrimination and first President of the free Republic of South Africa, and a living symbol of Africa's wisdom in its most lofty sense.

"In the same year, we said farewell to President Yasser Arafat, who returned to his homeland after having lived with us for 12 years, a respected and honoured guest, as the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, now that the Palestinian people are beginning to recover their inalienable and legitimate national rights after a heroic struggle which lasted for half a century. We should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our deep satisfaction at the positive and promising steps that have been taken in the context of the Middle East peace process, and voice our determination to continue to contribute to the efforts aimed at achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"We have also spared no effort in strengthening further our close ties with our neighbours within the framework of the Arab Maghreb, as well as with the Arab, Muslim and African countries, the non-aligned countries and all friendly countries in Europe, Asia and America, with which we share mutual interests and have ties of fruitful cooperation. We have never hesitated to support those causes which were right and just, such as that of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and have responded positively, in so far as we were able, to the appeals and initiatives of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping in several parts of the world.

"All these choices, efforts and achievements entitle us to reaffirm that today, Tunisia is able to meet the challenge of change which it had the courage to take up well before the advent of the global changes which we have been witnessing since the end of the last decade. Tunisia, the land of openness, tolerance and moderation, inspired as it is by its rich legacy of civilization and dedicated to its convictions and its guiding principles, will spare no effort in continuing to make its constructive contribution to international efforts, particularly within the framework of the United Nations, in order to strengthen sustainable development and peace throughout the world in the interest of all mankind. It goes without saying that our mandate at the head of the Organization of African Unity affords us a valuable opportunity to work further in mobilizing the international community and in focusing heightened attention on the concerns of the African continent, whose countries represent nearly a third of the Member States of the United Nations.

"Today, the African scene especially as projected by the audio-visual mass media, confronts us with highly contradictory images. Thus, while taking note with satisfaction and optimism of the reconciliation and harmony that we now see among the various elements of society in South Africa, which in the past were torn asunder by the odious system of apartheid, we feel despair and sadness at the persistent conflicts and hotbeds of tension in other parts of the continent. However, it would be neither fair nor objective to limit ourselves to a negative assessment of such events without attempting to shed light on them and to identify their causes in order to be able, with wisdom and concern, to remedy them and to contain their effects.

"In order to resolve the fundamental problems of Africa, we need to identify the ideal path and the most effective means of helping the continent gain control over the course of events and changes that are taking place on its soil. We have to do this not only for the sake of Africa but also in the interest of the international community as a whole. We should always keep in mind the imperative need to deal specifically with the fundamental issue which confronts so many African countries, namely, the achievement of political reform and the modernization of the economy, as corollaries of global development, under conditions of security and stability.

"There can be no doubt that in the area of political reform, the African continent has taken concrete and promising steps; but not as many as it would have liked, nor at the rate it would have desired. The African States more than anyone else, are well aware of that.

"On the other hand, as the efforts of the donor countries have fallen short of expectations, those countries should review their stance with regard to the development process in Africa in the light of the new realities and the changes that have taken place, which require the international community to redouble its efforts to participate effectively in the development of the continent.

"Africa is fully aware that the responsibility for its development is, in the first instance, its own. This is an awareness that has been confirmed by the African leaders, at their Summit in Tunis this year, when they stated that it is the duty of the Africans themselves to face up to the challenges that the present course of events confronts them with and to undertake firmly and in earnest the necessary economic reform and the rational development of human and material resources.

"At their thirtieth Summit, held in Tunis, the African leaders voiced an unshakeable will to live in peace and to mobilize their potential in the service of global and sustainable development, in order to be able to ensure a decent life for their fellow-citizens, free them from all forms of domination and hegemony and guarantee their ability to exercise their right freely to choose the model of society most in keeping with their traditions and the specific cultures. Experience has shown the gravity of the error of trying to carbon copy systems of power and of administration and impose them on peoples of other continents. The tragic consequences of such efforts are very much in evidence.

"Nevertheless, we look to the future with optimism, for today most countries of the African continent, with a heightened sense of responsibility and commitment, are trying to rid themselves once and for all of the legacies of the past. This necessary and legitimate endeavour can be made concrete only through consecration of the values of democracy, freedom and justice - those higher

values to which mankind in Africa has always adhered spontaneously and enthusiastically.

"During the Cairo Summit the African States were able to establish machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts. This decision was reaffirmed at the Tunis Summit. The African machinery has already begun to operate and has made a start on the implementation of the resolutions of the Tunis Summit and is tackling numerous remaining problems and crises in Africa - such as those of Rwanda, Burundi, Angola and Somalia - with a view to assisting in their settlement.

"In this context, we have spared no effort, as acting President of the Organization of African Unity, in cooperation and in coordination with African leaders, to increase emergency assistance to Rwanda. It is indisputable that the tragic situation prevailing in Rwanda requires the participation of everyone of goodwill, including the international community, and the mobilization of all efforts to heal the wounds of the brotherly people of Rwanda and to help them recover their security and stability, in harmony and fraternity.

"In implementing Security Council resolution 918 (1994), the African States have not hesitated to demonstrate their readiness to send troops to Rwanda within the framework of the second stage of the United Nations Mission (UNAMIR II) with a view to the re-establishment of security in this brotherly country, in accordance with the decisions of the Arusha Summit.

"We would have hoped, however, that material and logistical support for the African States involved had not been delayed. It was this delay that prevented the deployment of troops in Rwanda at a time when their presence was essential to and would have been a decisive factor in establishing peace and security in this brotherly country and in the region and in bringing about the desired national reconciliation that would have made possible the return of thousands of refugees, and thus would have mitigated the effects of this tragedy in line with the Arusha process.

"In this respect, I should like to emphasize that the establishment of the machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts reflects Africa's political will to give concrete expression to preventive diplomacy. However, the existence of such will is not enough by itself, when it comes to taking on such a role. Hence the major responsibility devolving on the United Nations to assist the machinery, by providing the funds for peace deriving from the Organization, as well as necessary means for the success of such intervention.

"At the Tunis Summit, the African countries adopted a code of honour and conduct designed to govern relations between the States of the continent and that aims at promoting the struggle against all forms of extremism, fanaticism and terrorism which are among the most important issues before the United Nations and the international community.

"In this respect, one of the object lessons to be learnt from the events in Rwanda is that it is imperative that the review of the United Nations Security Council's methods of work be expedited and that the necessary measures to deal with the problem of procrastination that has been noted in the implementation of United Nations resolutions be taken with the speed and diligence required in dealing with international crisis situations so that United Nations intervention may be effective and timely. Failing this, the role of preventive diplomacy will have to be strengthened and Africa will have to be provided with the opportunity to contribute to its strengthening realistically in order to avoid any recurrence of the tragedies we have witnessed, such as those of Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia.

"Joint African action in the economic sphere has continued since the African Economic Community was set up at the Abuja Summit in 1991. The aim is to initiate a strategy that would make possible the achievement of the complementarity and economic integration of the African States. Those States are required to achieve a greater degree of coordination and cooperation amongst themselves in order for them to be able to cope with the new developments in world markets especially after the establishment of the World Trade Organization. They have to explore prospects for the future so that Africa may be assured of a better position in international trade, which is witnessing a diminution of the share of the least developed countries.

"Clearly, the efforts that Africa is currently making to solve the problems of the present and to secure the future deserve the support and assistance of the international community. I have called upon the leaders of the seven richest countries, when they met recently in Naples, to become involved in the concerns of the African continent and to respond to its desire for a review of the level and content of its cooperation with the international community within the framework of a global strategy of North-South cooperation based on partnership and mutual development for peace and progress.

"While noting with satisfaction and being gratified at the success of numerous countries of America and of Asia with regard to settling the debt problem and increasing the rate of economic growth, we note with regret that the burden of external debt still constitutes the major obstacle to development efforts in Africa, as it has a highly negative impact on programmes of economic and social reform and on foreign investment.

"In addition, it is important to note that the increasing level of African indebtedness arises essentially from the cost of debt servicing, which is doubling year by year and which, along with the deterioration in the terms of trade, is a principal factor inhibiting the African countries' development efforts.

"We believe that stability, security and development are a collective responsibility and a common aspiration. The rich countries are called upon to take account of this in their policies; to make their public opinion sensitive to the importance of economic assistance for the developing countries; to make provision for a reduction in the staggering imbalances between peoples; and to highlight the positive consequences of such an approach, in the medium and in the long term, for the donor countries themselves through the opening up of markets, profitable investments and the limiting of emigration and of the problems resulting therefrom - the most appropriate means of translating preventive diplomacy into concrete action in dealing with all types of crises.

"It was in the context of these mutual interests that we suggested several years ago to the industrialized countries the formulation of a comprehensive strategy for development in Africa that would allow the States of the continent clearly to define their economic plans on the basis of continuous support by the countries and institutions that back them financially.

"Starting with 1989, I have proposed a number of initiatives at several international forums, including this General Assembly, the G-7 summits at Toronto and Naples, the European Union summit in Strassbourg, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and the Vienna Conference. All those initiatives related to such issues as human rights, the environment, the concretization of North-South cooperation through the conclusion of development partnership contracts between the developing countries and the industrialized countries and the recycling of debts. The ultimate aim was the codification of trade and political relations on the international level.

"All of those proposed initiatives have now taken shape. Some of them are being implemented, while others are still being studied by regional and international groupings.

"Today, the world witnesses new phenomena, which have an ever-greater impact on the international arena and which are primarily characterized by universality and comprehensiveness. We are therefore all the more convinced of the timeliness of our initiatives and of the need to carry on and complete their implementation.

"The organic interdependence of the present and future interests of States has now become a concrete reality. The same is true of the relationships amongst peoples in all their various aspects, which are subject to the functioning of the machineries of multilateral cooperation that manage the complex relations of States on the external and the domestic levels.

"It is in this context that the various forthcoming international events will take place, namely, the United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, which will be held in Tunis; the International Symposium on Organized Crime; the World Summit for Social Development, as well as the proclamation of 1995 as the United Nations Year for Tolerance; and the World Conference on Women, which will take place in Beijing. All of

these events have been scheduled to take place in the context of the international action aimed at the setting up of humanity's agenda for comprehensive development - 'An Agenda for Peace' -that would reflect, on another level, the universal nature of human security.

"Thus the international community is called upon to mobilize itself on the occasion of the Tunis meeting on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders and the International Symposium on Organized Crime in order to hone a preventive strategy, identify the means required or, more specifically, to build effective institutional structures to combat terrorism and organized crime, including offences of an economic and political nature, such as violations of human rights and drug trafficking.

"In this respect, Tunisia has unswerving'y adopted a diplomacy of cooperation based on peace, stability and security. In addition, we are working to ensure that the United Nations Year for Tolerance will be a good occasion wherein such human values will be underscored and made a political goal and a means of avoiding and preventing disputes.

"As for the World Summit for Social Development, it will afford an opportunity to search for urgent international solutions to urgent social problems and to make clear the need for the formulation of an international strategy for social development, since social problems today are an overriding concern of all countries both in the North and in the South. Indeed, those problems endanger stability, security and peace throughout the world and in particular in Africa. Therefore, the African Heads of State and Government recognized, during their meeting in Tunis, the importance of this world Summit and the need carefully to consider the recommendations that will result from it.

"The strong upheavals that have taken place on the world scene have directly impacted on the conditions in many countries and particularly in those which do not have the wealth or sufficient potential to adapt to the new international order. Therefore, the international community is called upon to devise new modes of cooperation. Such modes, as they will have to be unprecedented in both form and content, will require the existence of political will and international solidarity and the establishment of a partnership for lasting social and human development.

"The improvement of living conditions, respect for human dignity, justice for all, equality of all races and peoples, as well as the values of tolerance and respect for others, are the indispensable foundations upon which social life and international cooperation must be based.

"We are gratified here to reiterate our great appreciation of the active role that the United Nations performs in the management of problems of peace, security and development throughout the world. We would also like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the son of Africa and of the Arab world who has worked to introduce a new dynamism into the agenda for comprehensive development and the 'Agenda for Peace'. This role is supported by the African States, and we continue to find it a source of great encouragement. In the same context, we take note with great satisfaction of the compromise reached within the framework of the Organization of African Unity concerning the need to implement the project for structural reform of the United Nations aimed at greater efficiency and increased balance and equality in the representation of regional groups.

"In this context, we insist on the legitimacy of the wish expressed by the African continent to strengthen its presence within the United Nations system by obtaining for itself that place which goes hand in hand with its position and with its aspiration to make a greater contribution to the management of international affairs and to the strengthening of security, stability and progress throughout the world.

"It is on behalf of Tunisia and on behalf of the Organization of African Unity that I renew this appeal, while hoping that at this session we will achieve adequate formulas for reforms to be undertaken within the United Nations system, in order to consolidate the foundations of security, peace and stability throughout the world and to provide a stimulus for the process of development for the benefit of all of humankind."

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, His Excellency Senator the Honourable Gareth Evans.

Mr. Evans (Australia): I warmly congratulate you, Your Excellency Minister Essy, on your election as President of the General Assembly at this forty-ninth session. Australia is very pleased to serve in the Assembly under your presidency and looks forward to relying on your wisdom and your experience as you preside over our deliberations.

The last year has provided its full measure of challenges for the United Nations. The hopes for a new era of peace, after the decades of sterile confrontation between the super-Powers, seem not much closer to being realized. In Southern Africa and the Middle East, there have been remarkable advances in solving some of the world's most intractable problems, but they stand in contrast to the nightmarish conflicts of Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. These are only the latest, and most prominent, of a long string of deadly conflicts within State borders, tearing existing States apart and far exceeding the threats to peace posed by conflict between States. These intra-State conflicts have been marked by extreme savagery, each day offering new evidence of how cruel and dangerous a place the world remains for so many of its people.

The combined impact of a number of these conflicts has had a corrosive effect on the standing of the United Nations. Pictures of Blue Helmets standing by, unable to prevent conflict and impotent to save life, have become a media cliché. The role that the United Nations system has continued to play in its economic, social and humanitarian work, in responding to the "silent emergencies" of poverty and deprivation, has been overshadowed by the public image of an organization failing to meet its responsibilities and unequal to the challenges. Some of this imagery is deeply unfair, failing to take account of the innumerable constraints under which the United Nations operates - and in particular failing to acknowledge that, at the end of the day, the United Nations can do no more than what its Member States allow it to do, or give it the resources to do.

But the underlying reality is that the United Nations, and we Member States that make it up, have not yet developed a clear and confident sense of the United Nations own role in the new environment with which we are confronted - where the most common source of conflict is no longer disputes between States, but explosive conflict within States, more often than not expressed in the form of competing ethno-nationalist or religious claims.

Of course ethnic or religious difference is not, by itself, a recipe for conflict within States. Australia is just one example, among many, of a highly successful multi-ethnic, multicultural society in which tolerance and peace prevail. For ethnic or religious differences or competing nationalist aspirations to deteriorate into deadly conflict, something more is necessary. And almost invariably that something has been a failure of Governments to deliver basic needs and to satisfy the most basic aspirations of their citizens. In almost every case of major intra-State conflict of recent times, from the former Soviet republics to Rwanda, ethnic and religious conflict has been associated with declining per capita gross national product, the rise of demagogic politics, and the collapse of effective, responsible government.

All this means that it is no longer possible, in the post-cold-war era, for the international community simply to ignore, as it largely did in the past, conflict occurring within State borders which does not significantly impact on other States. The compartmentalization which existed through the cold war years - in which peace and security issues, development issues, and human rights and justice issues were treated as being in completely different conceptual and institutional boxes - no longer seems adequate to deal with the real world distress that so many people are suffering. Basic economic needs, let alone the needs of individuals and groups for dignity and liberty, cannot begin to be met in environments where nobody's personal security can be guaranteed. And that means, in turn, that the international community cannot simply turn away from being involved in protecting human security in many of those situations which might previously have been regarded as wholly internal in character.

This truth has, of course, already been recognized to the extent that the United Nations has become involved in essentially intra-State conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti. But for the most part that involvement has been hesitant, half-hearted, lacking in confidence, worried about its rationale, too little, and too late. We have now to reach out boldly and try to recapture some of the original vision built into the stated aims of the Charter. We have to reintegrate the relationship among the three basic objectives of peace, meeting the need for security; development, meeting economic needs; and human rights and justice, meeting the needs for individual and group dignity and liberty.

The distinction between peace and security on the one hand and development on the other has too often been a matter for sterile and unhelpful debate, with attempts to trade off one for the other as key goals for the United Nations. Any viable modern concept of international peace, let alone peace within States, must recognize that the two are indissolubly bound up with each other: there can be no sustainable peace without development, and no development without peace.

In this context, Australia warmly welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts in producing An Agenda for Development which, following on as it does from An Agenda for Peace, fully recognizes the relationship between peace and development, acknowledging that equitable development eradicates many of the socio-political conditions in which threats to peace breed. It places an entirely appropriate emphasis on individual human beings as the end object and beneficiaries of our developmental efforts. This concept of course, in various guises, lies behind most of the international community's key ideas about development in recent years, including "adjustment with a human face", "human development" and, most recently, "human security". I must also applaud the focus which the Secretary-General has placed on practical international cooperation for global human security, for example in the areas of emergency humanitarian assistance, effective governance and all the social issues which form the agenda of the world social summit.

A more integrated effort will clearly be required of the United Nations system if the objectives set out in An Agenda for Development are to be achieved. It is imperative that we improve the system's ability to develop and implement social and economic development programmes in a more coordinated and coherent manner, including by finding ways to allow the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations bodies to work in closer harmony. An example of a more systematic approach that the United Nations system might be able to adopt is the recent package of reforms undertaken by the Economic and Social Council. The new approach to operational activities, and the joint programme which the Economic and Social Council agreed to earlier this year to tackle the health and development impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, demonstrate the achievements that are possible through such reform.

But more will be required than this, including changes in the senior decision-making structure of the United Nations Secretariat. Considerable reform in the intergovernmental elements of the United Nations system has been achieved and is being worked out, but the same is not true of the Secretariat itself. Notwithstanding some welcome recent changes, including in particular the designation by the Secretary-General of a special adviser on operational activities, I believe that there continues to be a strong case for creating a new working collegiate executive of four Deputy Secretary-Generals to work with the Secretary-General - responsible respectively for economic and social affairs, peace and security affairs, humanitarian affairs and administration and management.

A key source of threats to national and international security lies in unsustainable patterns of consumption and exploitation of resources. High population growth and competition for resources have been contributing factors in several of the recent crises involving the United Nations, including Rwanda and Somalia, and competition over scarce water resources is a potential cause of conflict in a number of regions. Such threats demonstrate how important it is, in security terms, for the United Nations to strengthen its ability to deal with development issues. The international community has developed a significant body of international laws, norms, agreements and arrangements for the rational and cooperative management of scarce resources. The United Nations system needs to ensure that it takes timely, effective and coordinated action to help implement this framework and the programmes for action agreed on at recent global conferences. The outcome of last month's Cairo Conference has provided a blueprint to address problems of population and development, acknowledging the central role of women in the development process.

For its part, the Commission on Sustainable Development must develop a genuine capacity to monitor the implementation of Agenda 21, using its political influence to bring about an observable difference in approaches to environment and development. We also attach particular importance to early implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in Barbados in May this year. No less important has been the entry into force of the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The adoption in June 1994 of the new Agreement implementing Part XI of the Convention secures a widely accepted legal order for the world's oceans, and provides, in effect, a common language for interaction between States on matters affecting two thirds of the world's surface.

From the outset of the establishment of the United Nations, the international community has acknowledged human rights as a central and legitimate subject of international attention. For many years, however, and notwithstanding the system of international human rights treaties, this attention carried with it the ideological baggage of the cold war and was too often marked by confrontation and recrimination. In recent years the international community has begun to develop more cooperative and potentially more effective ways of promoting better observance of human rights standards.

These include the creation of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the promotion of national and regional human rights bodies and improved technical assistance. They also include a welcome reaffirmation in Vienna last year of the indivisibility of all human rights - economic, social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights - in developing a base for positive change. And they include the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal to try violations of humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia. A further important specific step that Australia believes should be taken in this direction is the creation of a permanent international criminal court, to deal with gross violations of international criminal law wherever they might occur.

Human rights observance has its own profound significance for peace and security. The drafters of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognized this connection. The international community has clear obligations under the Charter to protect basic human rights, and the most basic freedom of all - the right to life - is directly dependent on the maintenance of peace. We must be prepared to accept a wider application of the notion of security as it appears in the Charter, recognizing that security in the post-cold-war era has as much to do with the protection of individuals - guaranteeing human security - as it has to do with State security - the defence of national borders.

Human security, in this view, is as much if not more threatened by intra-State conflict as it is by conflict between States, and intra-State conflict is as much a concern of the United Nations as is international conflict. The experience of the last few years underlines the lesson that a State whose Government systematically disregards human rights, ignores the rule of law and fails to strive for equitable development and distributive justice is a State showing clear signs of heading towards breakdown and civil strife. To try to anticipate with appropriate preventive strategies that breakdown and conflict is, for the United Nations system, not to go beyond its Charter mandate, but to fully realize it.

The international community has traditionally talked about security in almost wholly military terms. In a United Nations context, collective security has meant Member States renouncing the use of force against each other and agreeing to come to the aid of a Member when it is attacked. Even the more recent, and very welcome, focus on the concept of common security has been premised on the idea that States will be more secure militarily with defence strategies that are aimed at building security with others rather than against others.

If the international community is to respond fully and effectively to the new challenges of the post-cold-war era, this perspective has to be broadened. One way to do that is to talk, as many are now doing, in terms of comprehensive security, which conveys the important idea that security is multidimensional in character, demanding attention not only to political and diplomatic disputes but to economic underdevelopment, trade disputes, human-rights abuses and the like.

But Australia's preference - as I spelled out last year in addressing this Assembly, when I launched the so-called Blue Book, *Cooperating for Peace* - is to describe our shared objective as cooperative security. The term cooperative security is designed to embrace and capture the essence of all those three other ideas: collective, common and comprehensive security. It is designed to shift the focus away from traditional, defensive, State-centred thinking, and at the same time to convey the flavour of consultation rather than confrontation, reassurance rather than deterrence, transparency rather than secrecy, prevention rather than correction, and interdependence rather than unilateralism.

Cooperative security in practice means a whole range of different strategies designed both to prevent and to resolve conflict, certainly including the traditional United Nations roles of peace-keeping and peace enforcement. But the strategies that I want particularly to emphasize today are those at the preventive end of the response spectrum, in particular peace-building and preventive diplomacy.

As the idea of peace building has been developed by the Secretary General in An Agenda for Peace and in An Agenda for Development, it has largely been restricted to the situations of post-conflict economic and institutional restoration within countries. Australia's view is that

while that is a very important element of the idea it is unduly restrictive, and that the concept of peace-building should assume a much more prominent place in our thinking about the international community's role and responsibilities.

We see peace-building as describing the whole range of strategies designed to address basic and underlying causes of disputes and conflicts: strategies aimed at ensuring that they do not arise in the first place, or that if they do arise, they do not subsequently recur. Those strategies are applicable at both intra-State and international levels. At the international level we are talking essentially about various regimes and arrangements designed to minimize threats to security, to promote confidence and trust and to create frameworks for dialogue and cooperation, especially through arms control and disarmament treaties; legal regimes such as those on maritime passage and the status of refugees; dispute-resolution mechanisms such as the International Court of Justice; and multilateral dialogue forums, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) or the new regional Forum of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). At the in-country level, peace-building essentially involves strategies to encourage economic development, ensure the observance of human rights, broadly defined, and to facilitate good governance.

So perceived, peace-building lies right at the interface between the United Nations agendas for peace and for development. Peace-building activity is already occurring in a great many ways and in a great many places. The attention being given to environment, resource and population issues, the higher profile being accorded to human-rights protection and the significant progress being made on many disarmament issues are all manifestations of this at the general international level. And more attention is being given to democratization and institution-building strategies, as well as economic ones, for particular countries where effective governance has broken down, or seems about to.

What is really necessary is that more of this activity be integrated and coordinated within the United Nations system, that activities now being pursued in isolation and without any overriding sense of common purpose be better linked together. If we are to get peace, development and human rights objectives better synchronized, then some institutional changes are necessary. A good start may be to vest responsibility for developing and coordinating peace-building strategies in the position of deputy secretary-general for humanitarian affairs, a position which I suggested earlier should be created.

Whatever the achievability of peace-building international regimes in other areas, the end of the cold war has certainly opened up for the international community exciting new possibilities to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and destabilizing conventional-arms races. There is now, for example, an historic opportunity to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The decision by most of the nuclear-weapon States to maintain moratoriums on testing has made a major contribution to an improved negotiating atmosphere in the Conference on Disarmament. Australia very much hopes that the People's Republic of China will play its part in bringing those negotiations to a conclusion by likewise abstaining from further tests. Agreement on a comprehensive test ban will also have a significant impact on the achievement of nuclear disarmament, and especially nuclear non-proliferation, objectives. Australia urges all members of the Conference on Disarmament to seize this opportunity, which may not present itself again, to conclude the test-ban treaty as soon as possible.

A further vital contribution to nuclear disarmament would be made by the negotiation of a cut-off convention. Australia hopes that all members of the Conference on Disarmament will support the efforts of the Canadian coordinator and agree to a negotiating mandate by the beginning of the 1995 session.

Underlying all the efforts by the international community over the past 25 years to stem the spread of nuclear weapons has been the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The NPT remains the cornerstone of international efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. Its success is reflected in this phenomenon: the general expectation in the 1960s was that the world would have as many as 25 nuclear-weapon States by the 1980s, but instead, 160 countries have now acceded to the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon States, leaving only a handful outside the Treaty framework. The peaceful-use assurances derived from the Treaty and from the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency have laid the foundation for very valuable international cooperation in fields such as nuclear power generation, nuclear medicine and agricultural and scientific applications of nuclear energy. In addition, the NPT incorporates the only commitment from the five nuclear-weapon States to complete nuclear disarmament. The cause of complete nuclear disarmament, which

Australia fully supports, is moving in the right direction, but it is clear that more needs to be done by the nuclear-weapon States if the pace is to be maintained.

A decision to be made on extending the Treaty at the NPT Review Conference next year will allow us to secure its benefits in perpetuity. This is an opportunity we must grasp to shape a world in which our collective commitment to nuclear non-proliferation, and to a world free of nuclear weapons, can be realized. Indefinite extension of the Treaty will create an environment in which the pressures for continued nuclear disarmament will be maximized, in which nuclear proliferation will best be prevented, in which trade and cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can best be maintained, and in which the goal of universal membership of the Treaty can best be reached.

The pace of chemical- and biological-weapons disarmament continues to be encouraging. Progress is being made in preparing for implementation of the chemical-weapons Convention, and the recent Special Conference's decision to develop verification measures to strengthen the biological-weapons Convention is also very welcome. All members of the global community will benefit, in both security and trade and development terms, from the bans on these entire categories of weapons of mass destruction which will be put in place by the effective operation of both these Treaties.

In our efforts to prevent the further spread of weapons of mass destruction, we should not lose sight of the need to control conventional weaponry. Conventional weapons continue to be responsible for the overwhelming majority of the fatalities and casualties in contemporary armed conflict. In this area, the United Nations has taken an important first step in creating the Register of Conventional Arms, although I must note Australia's disappointment at the failure of its Expert Group to agree to expand the Register beyond transfers to cover productions and holdings. It is, however, most important that all States support this initial international exercise in the transparency of conventional weaponry by providing as much information as possible in their returns.

There is also a compelling need to strengthen the inhumane weapons Convention and, in particular, to extend further control over the use of, and trade in, land-mines, given the appalling and indiscriminate injuries caused to civilian populations often long after conflicts cease.

One of the most crucial elements in any functioning system of cooperative security is an effective capacity for preventive diplomacy. Australia is convinced that the United Nations can and should do more in this respect to prevent disputes escalating into armed conflict, and to this effect we propose to introduce a draft resolution on enhancing preventive diplomacy at the current session of the General Assembly.

We believe that there is widespread support for the United Nations to build stronger preventive diplomacy machinery and to develop the capacity foreseen by its founders and articulated in Article 33 to operate as an active agent in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Organization would be able to operate more effectively in this area if it gave its staff additional skills in dispute resolution and conflict management. We commend its efforts to do so through the fellowship course of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and we will continue to provide our backing for that training. We propose that the United Nations develop a dispute resolution service within its Secretariat. We advocate strengthening the Department of Political Affairs and increasing coordination, information-sharing and early-warning capacity among and between the various elements of the United Nations system. Greater use should also be made of the resources of Member States and stronger linkages forged with regional security arrangements.

Such regional organizations and arrangements themselves can play a most useful role. We should not have unrealistic expectations of them because most cannot match the capacity of global bodies to marshal resources for peace-building or, at the other end of the scale, for military responses to crises. They nevertheless offer a way of bringing together the parties to disputes in a constructive and non-confrontational framework. We welcome recent developments to strengthen regional approaches, in particular the recent inaugural meeting of the Regional Forum of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, with its evident willingness to develop preventive diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region. We hope that others will share our interest in exploring the scope for establishing regional peace and security resource centres - to advance these objectives under the banner of regional organizations or the United Nations itself, or both.

We welcome the steps taken by the United Nations Secretary-General to strengthen the United Nations links with regional organizations. In relation to one such important organization in Australia's own part of the world, we welcome the strong support given by Member

States for the application made by the South Pacific Forum for Observer status in the General Assembly, itself a response to the Secretary-General's invitation to consider ways of further improving the coordination of the efforts of regional bodies with those of the United Nations. Australia also welcomes the regional peace-keeping exercise under way to assist Papua New Guinea achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation in Bougainville, and the Secretary-General's expression of support for that exercise.

There is no use talking about reintegrating the United Nations or reshaping its responsibilities unless the resources are there to carry out these responsibilities. The central responsibility of Member States in this respect is to set to rights the Organization's current financial problems. Australia urges, in the strongest terms we can, all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time as a matter of obligation under the Charter.

We believe that the United Nations should look carefully at strengthening measures to encourage the prompt payment of contributions. We could, for example, explore the possibility of charging interest on overdue payments or applying Article 19 of the Charter to provide for only a 24-month grace period before voting rights are lost. We believe also that present budgetary systems could well be improved, in particular those involved with the financing of peace-keeping operations. We hope that, at a minimum, this General Assembly will be able to agree on some practical steps to move towards a sounder basis for such funding. Modern management practices, including a personnel policy more clearly based on merit, need to be adopted.

Measures such as these, while valuable, are unlikely to be sufficient in themselves to meet the financial demands which will be placed on the United Nations by its new agenda. The time has come to look at more innovative approaches to raising funds. One possibility which should be examined more seriously than hitherto, notwithstanding the complexities and sensitivities involved, is the application of levies on certain kinds of international transactions, such as air travel or foreign exchange, the capacity to carry on which depends on the existence of stability between States, to which the United Nations in turn makes a major contribution. An international levy on such transactions would be an equitable way of putting a price on an important public good. And the amounts involved are very large. The total value of global foreign exchange turnover, for example, is expected to amount to over $300 trillion next year. A levy on these transactions of only 0.01 per cent, if it could be collected, would yield over $30 billion. A flat-rate $10 added to the price of air tickets for each international sector travelled would yield $3 billion, nearly enough to cover all United Nations peace-keeping activities last year.

Whatever the funding strategy adopted, the financial burden on the United Nations system and the international community could be greatly reduced by putting a greater emphasis on preventive approaches to problem solving. It is very clear that prevention is far more cost-effective in the longer term than our current pattern of responding to problems, if at all, only after crisis points have been reached.

If the United Nations decision-making bodies are to have legitimacy and guaranteed international support in responding to the range of new and difficult situations with which the international community is now being confronted - particularly deadly conflicts and massive human rights violations occurring within States - they must be representative of the broad range of interests and perspectives of United Nations Member States. This is a key reason why enlargement of the Security Council's membership is a pressing concern for this General Assembly. It should be said, at the same time, that the Security Council's legitimacy will ultimately depend, not just on its representativeness, but upon the quality of its performance, and in that context it will be very important that the Assembly apply very rigorously the criteria and qualifications for Security Council membership elaborated in Article 23 of the Charter.

The model that would most simply meet the legitimate aspirations of the largest States excluded at present from permanent membership of the Security Council - including Japan and Germany, whose claims we support - would involve the creation of five new permanent membership seats. Assuming the continuation of the existing regional groups, three new permanent members would come from Africa and Asia, one from the Western European and Other States Group, and one from Latin America and the Caribbean. Australia would prefer not to extend the veto to any new permanent member. At the same time, we believe it would be appropriate slightly to dilute the veto power of the existing five permanent members by requiring two from their number to concur in its exercise.

If - as seems not impossible - agreement on a simple model of this kind proves not easily reachable, it may be worth giving consideration to a more complex alternative model. We have in mind one which would no doubt in

practice guarantee effective permanency for the largest States currently excluded from the Council, including Japan and Germany. But it would at the same time give a greater degree of flexibility to the Council's structure and greater opportunities for the recognition of several other countries which have made a major contribution to the Organization. It might, for those reasons, be a model capable of commanding more widespread support.

This alternative model would involve, in addition to the five existing permanent members - whose veto power would again be slightly diluted, as already outlined - the creation of eight quasi-permanent seats allocated among regional groups for which consecutive re-election would be possible, together with 10 rotating non-permanent seats as at present. It would make abundant sense, in our view, for the existing regional groups to be at the same time modified to reflect post-cold-war realities. A suggested way in which these 23 seats might be distributed among such a new set of regional groups is set out in the table attached to the circulated text of this statement; that table also sets out the way in which the seats might be distributed among the existing groups. On this model, the question which States became quasi-permanent members and how long they remained on the Council in that capacity would be a matter for determination by the regional group in question.

Consequential amendments would be required to Article 23 and Article 108 of the Charter, and the opportunity should, of course, be taken at the same time to remove the anachronistic enemy States clauses. An accompanying General Assembly resolution could elaborate any new regional-group arrangements.

It is, of course, the case that any change to Security Council membership is fraught with complexity and difficulty. But if we are ever to move from the stage of generalized discussion to concrete negotiations, it is necessary to put some quite specific and comprehensive proposals on the table. I certainly do not suggest that the models I have just advanced are the only possible approaches, but I do strongly suggest that the time is now ripe for us to commence such negotiation. I believe that others share our determination to move in a spirit of good will and conscientiousness to see to it that the United Nations of the next 50 years is soundly built; and an expanded, newly legitimized Security Council is a crucial foundation in this respect.

Australia wants the United Nations, over the next 50 years, to be an active and effective agent for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We want it to be a catalyst for international peace-building, working to strengthen international law, control and reverse arms races, promote confidence and dialogue between States and address underlying causes of instability, including internal conflict. We want the United Nations to promote, in more effective coordination with the major international economic and financial institutions, equitable and sustainable development and to coordinate responses to humanitarian crises. We want it to emerge even more strongly as a promoter of universal standards of human rights and their respect by Governments. We want the United Nations to pursue its objectives of peace, development and human rights in an integrated, coordinated way, with these objectives complementing, rather than being in competition with, each other. And we want it to be an Organization assured of the wholehearted backing of its Member States and provided by them with all the financial resources it requires to meet its obligations.

In short, we want the United Nations to become the Organization which was envisaged in its Charter. One of the priority objectives of our candidacy for election to the Security Council for 1997-1998 is to help in the building of such a United Nations. We believe we have valuable contributions to bring to this task, and we look forward to working closely with all our fellow Members in the shaping of a United Nations fully capable of meeting the needs and expectations of all of us in the international community over the next 50 years.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the next speaker, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, His Excellency Mr. Josef Zieleniec.

Mr. Zieleniec (Czech Republic): Please accept my most sincere congratulations, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Let me also thank the outgoing President, Ambassador Insanally, who displayed exceptional diplomatic skills in managing the business of the General Assembly this past year.

I wish to welcome the delegation of South Africa, which has joined us after an absence of many years. We have been following developments in that country with particular attention and are delighted with the remarkable progress it has chalked up. The restoration of South Africa's full membership further augments the

universality of the United Nations, which is something we all favour.

The Czech Republic takes very seriously the responsibility it shares for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is reflected, on the one hand, in our participation in United Nations operations in the former Yugoslavia, Mozambique, Liberia and Iraq and, on the other hand, in our aspirations to become a member of Atlantic and European security organizations - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union. This is why we have also joined the Partnership for Peace, one of whose priorities is coordination and cooperation by its participants for peace-keeping missions. The Czech Republic is also participating as best it can in humanitarian assistance to stricken countries. We are fast approaching the time when we will be able to provide direct economic development assistance as well.

The active part the Czech Republic is trying to play in the Security Council stems from our belief that we were elected to serve: to serve not our particular interests, but certain fundamental principles, irrespective of where in the world they may be imperilled.

The Security Council has in recent months dealt with several truly extraordinary situations. Let me examine some of them.

With regard to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, reaching a political settlement is a key objective of world diplomacy. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has been a critical element in managing this problem, and my country is proud of having a mechanized battalion integrated in this Force.

Belgrade, in accepting the Contact Group plan, has taken a helpful step towards an overall solution of the area's problems. We also welcomed Belgrade's closing of the border with Pale. In response, the Security Council re-evaluated the extent of sanctions imposed on Belgrade, hoping that its change of attitude would turn out to be serious and lasting. We will, nevertheless, be carefully examining reports of international monitors on how strictly Belgrade keeps its international border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina sealed.

The mutual recognition of the States of the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognized borders is the most important next possible step, one that is important for all countries of the region.

We are following closely the operations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) forces and their cooperation with the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). The case of Georgia is viewed by some observers as paradigmatic: this was the first time that a peace-keeping operation - to wit, UNOMIG - included the forces of a Power of the region. It was also the first time the Security Council actually welcomed the use of a force dominated by such a Power - the CIS force - in solving a local conflict. According to this view, cooperation between UNOMIG and the CIS in Georgia might perhaps serve as a model for resolving certain other conflicts elsewhere in the CIS. The Czech Republic, however, strongly believes that each peace-keeping operation is *sui generis*. Each conflict is different, and each operation therefore has to be evaluated on its own merits.

Africa, the continent of the President of the General Assembly, has this year seen some of the greatest tragedies to befall mankind since the Second World War. The scope and ferocity of the genocide in Rwanda is hard to comprehend. It goes far beyond anything that can be considered a "mere" civil war, and we are hard pressed to find any parallel to it. We welcome the conciliatory attitude of the new Rwandan Government.

The multinational force in Haiti led by the United States has raised many hopes in the initial phase of its operations. Its difficult task will be to curb and, better yet, prevent violence in a society that has seldom known any other way of solving political differences.

The Middle East is, fortunately, moving towards peace, and we congratulate the leaders of Israel, Palestine, Jordan and others who have amply demonstrated that even the most intractable problems of the world can be solved.

In some circumstances the United Nations has played a gallant role in the region. The liberation of Kuwait was a case in point. Since the Gulf War, we have insisted that Iraq fulfil all of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. We have great appreciation for the work of the Special Commission (UNSCOM) and have taken serious note of a number of measures Iraq has undertaken to meet the demands of Security Council resolutions concerning weapons of mass destruction. We are still, however, looking for a declaration by appropriate Iraqi authorities recognizing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait within its internationally respected borders.

Even this review suggests that a large portion of the Security Council's agenda has to do with peace-keeping operations. Following the end of the cold war, their number increased dramatically, with skyrocketing costs. This could not of course continue unchecked. Exercising restraint in authorizing new peace-keeping operations is the first condition for putting the whole system on a sound footing. In peace-keeping, as in every other aspect of its operations, the United Nations must live within its means.

There are of course two financial flows that determine the means at the disposal of the United Nations. On the one hand there is the outflow: a function of how troubled our world is and of which of its troubles we choose to tackle. On the other hand there is the inflow: a function of equity in allocating the financial burden and of the discipline of Members in shouldering it.

Only a few operations come to mind as having been largely successful. Let us take a closer look at one of these - the United Nations Operation in Mozambique. In that operation we see the following success factors: a well-crafted peace plan; a realistic mandate for the United Nations force; the fact that the politicians concerned put the interests of their country above all else; the tenacity of United Nations personnel in carrying out their mandate, and the timing of the operation. One wonders whether, today, the necessary troops could even be assembled.

By contrast, a number of peace-keeping operations are facing difficulties. Angola's peace plan, for example, was probably not crafted quite well enough; post-election fighting is a consequence of the fact that the antagonists kept their armies intact. In Somalia, the factions do not seem to agree that there ever was a peace plan in the first place. This is perhaps the case in Liberia as well. In the former Yugoslavia, the strength of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops is in many ways not commensurate with their mandate.

We must therefore draw the necessary lessons. It is very important to examine the key success factors of successful operations and to try to ensure that they are present in every peace-keeping operation. But the main lesson is this: the United Nations is not a panacea for all of the world's ills. The Security Council is often sought out by factions who cannot agree on anything among themselves. But we have to insist on one principle: in general, it is the people and the leaders of a country who themselves have to demonstrate a readiness to tackle their problems before the United Nations can come in and assist them.

So much, in general, about the outflow of resources. At the same time, the United Nations faces a terrible crisis of inflow.

A radical reform of the existing system of financing is needed to overcome the crisis in the financing of peace-keeping. We strongly support the idea of replacing the existing arbitrary mechanism with a system based on standard, objective and quantifiable criteria. We also support the idea of establishing an independent body to study the principle of the capacity of countries to pay. This should become the fundamental criterion for determining the scale of assessments.

The Czech Republic meets its financial obligations towards the United Nations in full and on time. It has also covered an appropriate share of the obligations of the former Czechoslovakia. My country has not yet, however, been assessed for peace-keeping operations, pending determination of the group in which it should be placed. This matter should be settled in the context of agreement on objective criteria for making such determinations in general.

The increase in the number of peace-keeping operations has increased the dangers faced by their personnel. We therefore consider it particularly important to complete as soon as possible the work on a convention dealing with responsibility for attacks on United Nations and associated personnel. Last year we were acutely aware of the need for greater responsiveness on the part of the Security Council to United Nations personnel at large. This need continues, but some slight progress has been attained. Meetings of Security Council members with countries contributing troops to major peace-keeping operations have become more frequent, perhaps even routine.

Improved cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations would no doubt improve the efficiency of both in dealing with international crises. We are particularly interested in further strengthening the cooperation on the part of the United Nations with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, but also its cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. That is why last January, during our Presidency of the Security Council, we suggested the possibility of a United Nations seminar with regional organizations. Understanding full well that they all have different charters, characters and qualities, we still feel that a continuing exchange of experience can enrich the entire international system of multilateral diplomacy. We

commend the Secretary-General for organizing the first meeting along these lines earlier this year.

The future shape of the Security Council is one of the most important questions this General Assembly session will deal with. The effort exerted to date is reflected in the report of Ambassador Insanally, Chairman of the ad hoc Working Group. The basic role of the Security Council - maintenance of international peace and security - determines its unique position. There is no question about the need for it or about its impact on international affairs. This exceptional position of the Council should be maintained.

Efforts to improve its functioning are thus informed by other considerations. It has to earn the greater confidence of Member States. Even after it is reformed, the Council will have to remain rather small to maintain its efficiency. If its work improves, that should not be because of increased size or expanded responsibilities but because of its enhanced authority. The countries that should be considered for new permanent membership are those that have the economic, political and military potential to contribute to the maintenance of global security, are prepared to assume the responsibilities implied by permanent membership, and are ready actively to participate in the implementation of Security Council decisions. The key factor, in our view, is the global influence of candidates. The principle of unanimity and its obverse - that is, veto power - expressed in 1945 the fundamental responsibility of the great Powers for maintaining world peace. Since the dissolution of the bipolar world, this responsibility has, if anything, further increased. We therefore favour maintaining the unanimity principle.

We are delighted that our last General Assembly session resulted in the creation of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights and congratulate Ambassador Ayala Lasso on his appointment. Even during his very first few months in office, he has demonstrated its usefulness. We have no doubt that this Assembly will follow through with the implementation of additional recommendations of the 1993 Vienna International Conference on Human Rights.

The danger of nuclear proliferation has not disappeared. Ongoing discussions with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are one example that proves this point. We support an indefinite and unconditional extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and we will advocate this position at the fifth Review Conference of that Treaty next year. We support an increased role for the International Atomic Energy Agency in verifying how the Treaty is being adhered to.

We favour accelerating work on the comprehensive test-ban treaty. We share the view that the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons and of nuclear explosive devices should be banned. We support maintaining a moratorium on nuclear tests and an agreement on banning all such tests, as well as further negotiations on limiting nuclear arsenals and on the measures necessary to prevent illicit trafficking in nuclear material.

Ours is a small world full of problems, with almost 50 years of global peace but replete with local wars; abundance side by side with poverty; success in South Africa, progress in the Middle East, but a Bosnia and a Rwanda torn asunder. All this, and much more, is characteristic of today's world and is reflected in today's United Nations. Our fervent hope is that when the leaders of the world meet here next year, they will be celebrating 50 years of an Organization that will have become even more successful in a world that will be much closer to overall peace, prosperity and democracy.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of the State of Kuwait, His Excellency Mr. Nasser Abdullah Al-Rawdhan.

Mr. Al-Rawdhan (Kuwait) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: It gives me pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the State of Kuwait, our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your qualities of leadership will ensure efficient and smooth deliberations. I take this opportunity to underline the good and friendly relations that exist between Kuwait and your country.

I should like also to pay tribute to Mr. Samuel Insanally, the President of the last session of the Assembly, for the competence he demonstrated in guiding the Assembly's proceedings during his term of office. The delegation of Kuwait would like to place on record its appreciation for the achievements made under his leadership.

I wish also to reiterate the appreciation of the Government and people of Kuwait and my own personal

recognition of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his consistent efforts to enhance the performance of the world body and the pursuit of its goals on behalf of mankind. Kuwait fully supports the Secretary-General's vision in carrying out his "Agenda for Peace", in which he elaborated his concept of preventive diplomacy.

Next year, the United Nations will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its creation as an Organization of sovereign States whose relations are governed by the principles and purposes embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. The overriding concern of this global institution is to secure world peace, the independence of nations and freedom, and to harness energies for construction and development. The United Nations system is also a framework within which we collectively seek to alleviate the misery and suffering of our deprived and disadvantaged fellow human beings. It is in this context that people would attain their freedom and independence, colonial rule would come to an end and the right to self-determination would become more entrenched than ever before. Thanks to the United Nations mandates, universal efforts are ever-growing to liberate humanity from the grip of suppression and fear and from the shackles of backwardness and ignorance, on the one hand, and to ensure global security and stability, on the other.

The results of these efforts over several decades have been reflected in major historic achievements despite all the challenges and odds faced by peoples in their steady endeavours to attain independence and reaffirm their identity. All those accomplishments turned out to be the salient features of our collective vision of the future. In all fairness, the admirable work of the United Nations and its accomplishments since its inception proved the relevance and importance of the tenets and objectives upon which it was conceived. In the early days, freedom from colonialism was the primary concern. The focus has now shifted to the improvement of general living conditions. In the past, the struggle was for independence, whereas the challenge now lies in the reaffirmation of and commitment to the rights of the human person to a decent life in freedom.

Indeed, the world has recently undergone an enormous transformation in terms of ideology, systems of governance and international relations. The United Nations interacted with these changes. The era of confrontation between ideological blocs has now given way to genuine mutual and multilateral interdependence. A cursory glance at the recent and forthcoming United Nations major world conferences clearly proves this trend. There was the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and the Conference on Population and Development which ended days ago in Cairo. The World Summit for Social Development and the World Conference on Women are to be held in Copenhagen and Beijing, respectively, next year.

In this regard, Kuwait supports the movement towards renewal and restructuring, away from the static stereotypes of the past. To our minds, international restructuring is a constant evolutionary process which should be responsive to the ever-changing global developments. Hence our active contribution to the efforts made by the General Assembly and its organs towards updating and reviving the mechanisms of the United Nations system. It is our hope that the current streamlining exercise will foster the capability of the United Nations to meet the increasing demand for its services and operations and will contribute to a better fulfilment of its mandates under the Charter.

In particular, we look forward to the development of the work, composition and effectiveness of the Security Council so that it may reflect the recent changes on the world scene, on the one hand, and satisfy the wishes and aspirations of the United Nations larger membership, on the other.

In the meantime, Kuwait believes that our collective efforts should at this stage focus on the formulation of more recognizable parameters of an international order which should be based on the following facts.

Firstly, the rationale, essence and thrust of the new order should derive from logical facts. Dialogue, persuasion and non-use of force, the rejection of aggression, the condemnation of terrorism and respect for the rights of all Member States to pursue their own policies in such a way that ensures their own interests within an international framework structured along the lines of justice, equality, the rule of law and compliance with international treaties, especially the United Nations Charter, should all be key components of the new vision.

Secondly, focus on human development in the context of economic and social development should represent a qualitative shift away from the futile, indeed harmful, stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction and the consequential squandering of national assets on disastrous aggressive adventures. In this regard, Kuwait

has evolved a relevant vision through its painful experience of the brutal Iraqi occupation. One of the major lessons drawn is that the issue of human resources development should be accorded a higher priority on the international agenda.

Thirdly, the promotion of North-South dialogue with a view to narrowing the existing gaps in the living standards of the two groups. The ultimate aim is to ensure that the North should not continue to maintain an almost exclusive monopoly of wealth and affluence while the South continues to languish in the tight grip of endless poverty. Is it not high time for us all to recognize that the concept of collective security will remain seriously deficient and doubtful under the existing socio-economic equation, i.e. a minority living in luxurious comfort while the majority is striving to survive in appalling misery?

Fourthly, insistence on the elimination of all vestiges and forms of racial discrimination, including opposition to the neo-racist policies and practices that surfaced as a result of the collapse of the old order. Obviously, the neo-racists resort to the use of force in order to secure territorial gains and to acquire land by force under the smoke screen of ethnic cleansing. Within the practice of ethnic cleansing emerges an unmistakable pattern at work. Intensely bestial instincts of mass murder and destruction break loose, contrary to all norms of human discipline and civilized conduct. Therefore, we are all duty-bound to resist and suppress this criminal tendency in order to reassure all peoples of their sense of human community and common destiny.

In this context, I wish to pay tribute to the leaders of South Africa and to congratulate the people of South Africa on their triumph over the system of apartheid. We know too well the great sacrifices they made and the long hard path they forged to reach where they are now. I am confident that the emergence of a non-racial South Africa to the arena and the resumption of its role in the United Nations will in time contribute significantly to multilateralism in terms of consolidating the principles of justice and equality. There is no question but that the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate racism will probably remain for a long time to come a rich source of inspiration for all of us.

In the crucial area of peace-building on the basis of justice, the Middle East region has recently seen dramatic developments that could indeed prove to be historic turning-point, which may well be recorded in the annals of peace achievements despite the enormous problems arising from the many hotbeds of tension that jeopardize security and stability in different regions of the world. Following their agreement to end the state of war between them, Jordan and Israel signed an accord to serve as a basis for a just settlement.

Also, the Palestinian National Authority started to assume its responsibilities in the local administration of Gaza and Jericho in the Israeli-occupied territories as a first and important step towards the exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable right to self-determination.

Furthermore, contacts are now under way to ensure the resumption of negotiations on both the Syrian and the Lebanese tracks, which would lead to a just peace that would address, as we hope, in a an equitable and responsible manner, the concerns of all parties directly involved. Kuwait has expressed its support for these endeavours. It also participated in the multilateral meetings, while fully convinced that this formula is doomed to failure unless concrete and significant progress is achieved on all bilateral tracks. The multilateral formula, as we must always bear in mind, is an arrangement to back up the bilateral tracks, and not a by-pass to skirt them. It was in this spirit that Kuwait participated in the regional meetings, and out of our conviction that endorsement of and support for the peace process in the Middle East was in the final analysis a collective responsibility to be shared by the international community inasmuch as the entire world, not just certain protagonists, stands to gain from its benefits. For the record only, let me recall that Kuwait had participated in the ad hoc meetings on economic development for the territories subject to self-government. We contributed $25 million towards building the institutions required for the creation of the Palestinian National Authority.

The People of Palestine have suffered over the past several decades unspeakable injustice and deprivation as a result of the loss of their land, the denial of their right to self-determination and from being prevented from establishing their national State. It is our hope now that this people, which is recognized for resourcefulness and a sense of purpose, will at long last be able to exercise its full rights like all other peoples, including the establishment of its State, whose capital would be Al-Quds Al-Shareef.

Let me reiterate that the underpinnings of lasting stability and comprehensive peace as envisioned in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973),

together with the concept of land for peace, require a firm political commitment to ensure progress on all tracks - especially the Syrian track, which is the cornerstone of the peace-building process. Full withdrawal from occupied Syrian territory is therefore essential. Equally essential is the complete and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which requires a total Israeli pull out from southern Lebanon.

In today's world, which is characterized by interrelated and complex interests and civilized conduct on the basis of compliance with the rule of law and respect for international treaties; in today's world, when the winds of modernism have been blowing even to the most distant regions, the Iraqi regime continues to be a menace to security and stability in our region. It persists in defying the collective will of the international community as represented by the Security Council. This is demonstrated by its failure thus far to comply unconditionally with all the Council resolutions relating to its aggression against the State of Kuwait. Its reaction has invariably been characterized by subterfuge, procrastination, equivocation and selectivity.

Although more than four years have now passed since the Iraqi regime was defeated and its forces evicted from Kuwait, and regardless of its acceptance of all Security Council resolutions, including Security Council resolution 687 (1991), which set forth cease-fire conditions and highlighted regional security arrangements, the regime continues to refuse to address the core issue of the whole problem, namely recognition of the State of Kuwait and of its sovereignty within the international borders as demarcated, approved and endorsed by the United Nations and guaranteed by Security Council resolution 833 (1993), adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The international community's firmness in the face of the Iraqi regime's manoeuvres, the Security Council unanimity in its insistence on seeing the Iraqi regime fulfil all its obligations under Council resolutions are the right and appropriate response to the defiant stand of the Iraqi regime.

At this juncture, let me outline Kuwait's policy regarding this fateful question. First, Iraq must unconditionally implement all Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression, especially resolution 687 (1991).

Secondly, Iraq must accept Security Council resolution 833 (1993) regarding the demarcation of borders between Iraq and the State of Kuwait. Here, Kuwait insists that such acceptance should come in a clear and unequivocal manner. It should be formally documented by the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council and the Iraqi National Council and published in the Iraqi *Official Gazette*. All the above should then be set out in a letter addressed to the Security Council and deposited as an official document in the records of the United Nations.

Thirdly, Iraq should cooperate in good faith and in a responsible manner with the International Committee of the Red Cross in accounting for all Kuwaiti and third country prisoners and detainees. Serious efforts must be made to resolve this long-standing humanitarian issue, which has long been exploited by the Iraqi regime as a bargaining chip for securing narrow gains.

Fourthly, all provisions of Security Council resolutions relating to the return of Kuwaiti property and to compensation must be carried out. We would also like to see concrete implementation of the paragraphs relating to the Iraqi armament programme, the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and the export-import permanent control system.

Fifthly, Iraq's regional behaviour should not jeopardize security and stability in the region. Iraq should respect the norms of good neighbourliness by renouncing its greedy claims and its policy of blackmail; it should cease intervening in the internal affairs of neighbour countries and abstain from sponsoring and supporting terrorism, and it should renounce the aggressive tendencies which have been its hallmark for too long.

Once again, we would like to underline the fact that we in Kuwait are aware of the suffering of the people of Iraq and sympathize with the Iraqis who have had to endure hardship as a result of the policies pursued by a regime imposing itself by force on the Iraqi people. That is the very same regime which declines to utilize the mechanism offered to export oil under Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). In the same vein, let me emphasize that we would like to see the territorial integrity of Iraq preserved and safeguarded. This too is an essential component of regional stability.

The whole set of Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq constitutes one indivisible political and legal whole. We cannot and should not tolerate the selective approach pursued by the Iraqi regime in implementing Council resolutions. Core issues must be addressed squarely by Iraq, otherwise it will remain

under the illusion that it can dent the steadfast position of the Security Council. At this point, I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Security Council, which demonstrated unanimity in its recent review of sanctions against Iraq on 14 September. The Council reaffirmed that the sovereignty and boundaries of the State of Kuwait under its resolution 833 (1993) are the essence of the matter and that this will form the basis of the Council's priorities in dealing with the sanctions regime.

High among Kuwait's national priorities comes the issue of stability in the Gulf region. Accordingly, we have been working in close collaboration with other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council to resolve all the outstanding problems between Iran and the United Arab Emirates in regard to the three islands - Abu Moussa, Greater Tumb and Smaller Tumb - through dialogue and on the basis of respect for national rights and international treaties. Hence, we have supported the recent initiative by the United Arab Emirates to have recourse to the International Court of Justice, which is the international judicial organ that has the competence to resolve disputes between States. In the meantime, we are confident that both parties to the conflict will demonstrate reason and prudence and that they are eager to reach a just and peaceful settlement of the litigation through legal channels and in such a way that would not compromise the rights of the United Arab Emirates.

Kuwait is following with deep concern the situation in Afghanistan. We appeal to all factions there to put the interests of the Afghani people ahead of all other considerations. We sincerely call upon them to put an end to the fighting and to help facilitate the current efforts of the United Nations to bring about national unity and channel energies towards reconstruction.

We are distressed also by the increasing deterioration of the situation in sisterly Somalia. Again, we appeal to all factions that are engaged in the conflict there to demonstrate wisdom by acting in accordance with the interests of all Somali people. We pray for national reconciliation that will preserve the unity and independence of Somalia.

The tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is of great concern to the Government and people of Kuwait. Initially, we were optimistic that the efforts of the Contact Group would prove to be successful in reaching the comprehensive Peace Plan. The Bosnian Muslims and Croats gave the internationally supported peace plan their approval despite the fact that it did not satisfy all their legitimate demands. However, the Bosnian Serbs, in open defiance of the international will, rejected the Plan and, instead, relied on the use of force to impose a *fait accompli* and to exact territorial gains, at the expense of other parties.

Kuwait believes that the Security Council should, without any further delay, lift the embargo imposed on arms supplies to the Bosnian Muslim to enable them to exercise their legitimate right of self-defence in the face of blatant aggression.

In today's world it is totally unacceptable that we should all remain virtually passive witnesses to an exercise in which a minority, through the use of overwhelming military force, tramples the legitimate rights of the majority.

In the context of global realities on the ground, the international community should not underestimate the gravity of problems faced by the developing nations in their pursuit of economic development and progress. Economic readjustment and restructuring, foreign-debt burdens and pressures of inflation are but a few of these weighty problems. These obstacles to development were recognized by Kuwait at an early stage. Hence, Kuwait took the initiative to write off loans of developing countries whose repayment was overdue. Parallel to that action, we have expanded the operations of the Kuwait fund for economic development. We have also increased our contributions to the regional and international financial institutions.

For more than two decades now my country has been playing a leading role in the provision of aid to developing countries. The total assistance provided by Kuwait exceeds 4 per cent of its annual gross national product and is more than four times the suggested level of official development assistance. That being the case, we hope that developed countries will increase the level of their assistance with a view to reducing the current disparities in standards of living.

An effort to narrow the gaps between the living conditions of peoples around the world would make a powerful impact on world peace and stability. Equally, the creation of job opportunities and the maintenance of hope in the future are essential for a peaceful life at home and to harmonious relations between nations.

In this context, Kuwait welcomes the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade agreement that was

achieved after long and arduous rounds of negotiations, and it looks forward to the entry into force of that agreement following the required endorsements.

Dialogue, understanding and rapprochement are valuable tools in international relations. They facilitate our cooperation and our collective endeavours, as a family of nations, to meet our needs and fulfil our aspirations. If the fruits of technology and science can be fully harnessed for this purpose we shall reap the benefits thereof. The whole planet has indeed become a global village, in which we can closely follow world events as they unfold, thanks to the great leaps forward in the areas of science, technology, transportation, communications and information technology.

If anything, this is a testimony to impressive human cooperation. Such cooperation, when anchored in dialogue and understanding, is perhaps the most viable option for bringing us closer to peace, stability and progress.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba, His Excellency Mr. Roberto Robaina González.

Mr. Robaina González (Cuba) *(interpretation from Spanish):* As we who are gathered here deliver our statements, a small and impoverished Caribbean nation is being subjected to military occupation. The inconceivable deal struck with the generals responsible for the coup d'état - yesterday threatened as murderers, but today turned into complacent partners - ignores the decisions of the international community and the will of the Haitian people. The fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter - indeed, the authority of the Security Council and of the United Nations itself - are among the victims of this unfortunate event, as they have been totally ignored in actions carried out allegedly on their behalf.

History is repeating itself. It was the guns of invaders and the boots of foreign occupants that installed in Haiti the various dictatorships of this century and trained and supported those who are still perpetrating tyranny on their people. How, then, can we trust them to promote democracy in the future?

Cuba has always supported and promoted efforts to restore the constitutional order in Haiti with the unconditional and unrestricted return of President Aristide and has rejected the attempts to resort to foreign intervention as a means of resolving the conflict. At the appropriate time, Cuba denounced the Security Council's decision to go along with the violation of the Charter by some of its members and to join in their interventionist designs. Now that we are faced with a *fait accompli*, we can do nothing except reiterate our Government's position: those who are today applauding the invasion could become tomorrow's victims.

It is clear that an essential component of this tragedy is the manipulation to which the United Nations - an organization born under the pretext of the sovereign equality of its members - has been subjected.

Cuba reiterates its firm rejection of the attempts to adopt unilateral decisions on issues of vital importance to all peoples and of the abuse of the anachronistic privilege of the veto, granted by the Charter to a group of States with permanent membership of the Security Council.

It is urgent to ensure that democracy prevails in international relations and in the United Nations. We must ensure respect for the Charter and put an end to its systematic violation by the most powerful.

On this the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations it is imperative that the Organization be democratized without any delay. The time has come for this institution to stop catering to the interests of a handful of big Powers.

Mr. Mishra (India), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The President of the Assembly, a distinguished son of the African continent whose election to the presidency honours us all, is well aware that Somalia is still fresh in our minds. The tragedy of hunger and starvation in that sisterly nation has continued, even if television newsreels no longer show the horrible pictures that served as a prelude to the so-called humanitarian invasion sponsored by this Organization.

In spite of such invasions, Haiti and Somalia will continue to be poor countries. The evils of the third world are not resolved through military occupations, which are merely used to serve selfish interests.

In both cases, which have already become dangerous precedents, the Security Council acted under pressure from a big Power, which monopolized the implementation of these actions and even prevented the majority of Member States from voicing their views. In both cases, under the alleged authority of the Security

Council, neutrality and impartiality, essential principles of that body, were violated.

These are examples of the Security Council's illegitimate foray into areas beyond its mandate: intervention based on vague arguments of humanitarian protection, or the authorizing of one or several States to take unilateral punitive actions, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in operations of invasion, occupation and intervention.

In fact, what is at stake is the sovereignty, self-determination and political independence of countless countries, mainly but not only of the third world.

Attempts are being made, at the expense of the suffering of a number of peoples, and without their consent, to openly give carte blanche and a predominant role to the Security Council regarding issues alien to its mandate and on which this Organization has no prerogative whatsoever.

There is no doubt that the specific functioning of the Security Council deserves careful consideration, and that this body must become democratic, with an enlarged membership more representative of the countries of the third world. Poor and small countries are rightly entitled to be present on the Council and to demand that it follow equitable and transparent procedures in its activities. There should be permanent members from Latin America, Africa, and the developing countries in Asia. Membership should not be the preserve of large economic Powers associated with the West.

The Security Council cannot arrogate to itself powers that have not been invested in it, nor overstep the Organization that created it and to which it is accountable. The General Assembly must assert its control over the actions of the Security Council and demand that it respect the Charter.

There should also be greater response to the interests of the developing world in other areas of the Organization. The crucial problems of its peoples are not and cannot be resolved with invasions nor with allegedly humanitarian military operations. Nor can they be resolved with emergency assistance programmes whose only aim is to mitigate the most alarming consequences of structural underdevelopment.

If the international community and the United Nations, its most representative organization, do not adopt the timely measures and programmes required to develop the third world, we will be using this forum to debate the causes and consequences of the arrival of underdevelopment in the first world.

The growing concerns of industrialized countries over immigration issues is quite illustrative, as confirmed by the debates undertaken in the recently concluded International Conference on Population and Development.

It is clear that concepts regarding cooperation imposed from the North are prevailing, with flashy titles but devoid of any practical meaning for the solution of the problems brought about by poverty, and tending to mutilate the right to development for which peoples of the world are clamouring. Although concepts such as sustainable development, human development or sustainable human development may contain defensible ideals from a theoretical point of view, they are actually being used to corrode the commitments achieved during long years of efforts aimed at facilitating international cooperation for development on a just and democratic basis.

Unacceptable conditions and interference in the domestic policy of States are thus being imposed, and attempts are being made to fix strategic priorities for development in countries that, though poor, are sovereign and independent. Hence, the right to development proclaimed by this Organization is being subordinated to the interests of the large transnational economic powers, which are actually continuing to dictate the rules and practices of international economic relations.

The United Nations agenda for development must not be allowed to replace the International Strategy for Development and other important instruments that were the result of the efforts of the developing countries to defend their interests and on which they exhibited great flexibility and the ability to compromise.

Nor should the United Nations continue to be allowed to be used for the imposition of neo-liberal economic models, bringing backwardness and misery to millions of persons in exchange for short-term economic growth benefiting only the elitist minorities in third world countries and their partners in the affluent North.

The fundamental approach, in Cuba's view, should be focused on comprehensive economic growth based on justice and equity to meet pressing social needs. International economic relations must be restructured on

the basis of effective, just, equitable and non-discriminatory cooperation with the countries of the South.

Poverty is not a predestined fate, let alone a human right, no matter how hard the rich countries try to prove otherwise. As long as universal respect for human rights continues to be manipulated by a handful of rich nations, the have-nots of the South will continue to play the role of the accused, with the affluent societies in the North playing the parts of judge and jury.

All attempts to impose as universal dogmas systems of government designed by the privileged nations of the first world, regardless of the different social, economic, historical and cultural realities of the third world, are unacceptable and doomed to failure.

We must also put an end to hypocrisy.

It would be unforgivable for us to remain indifferent to the tragedy of humankind while wasting our efforts on elitist concerns. War, xenophobia, neo-fascism and racism are proliferating in our midst; the degradation of women and children is increasing; unemployment is on the rise; the environment is deteriorating and the culture of entire populations and nationalities is being crushed. Millions of human beings are afflicted by poverty and starvation; they are denied access to basic medical care and education. Yet the United Nations has done very little indeed to deal with these issues as what they really are: clear violations of human rights.

Countries that are struggling, on the basis of equity and justice, to attain their development are really working in favour of the human rights of their peoples; countries that prevent us from developing are violating the human rights of our populations.

The Association of Caribbean States was recently established as a means of responding to the globalization of the international economy and of strengthening cooperation among the States, countries and territories of our region. We, the peoples of the Caribbean, are conscious of the fact that only by closely reconciling our interests can we become competitive markets. That new organization, brought into being by urgent needs, contributes, together with the Ibero-American Summits, to promoting the indispensable economic integration and joint analysis of common strategies in an environment that links us through history and culture.

As an integral part of that community of Latin American and Caribbean nations, Cuba has decided to sign, at the appropriate moment, the Tlatelolco Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region.

It is well-known that warships armed with nuclear weapons are anchored both in the portion of our territory illegally occupied by the United States and in neighbouring Puerto Rico. Without renouncing our demand for their withdrawal, we subscribe to the noble aims of Tlatelolco. We do so as testimony to our will to join with the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean, as a gesture towards our brothers in the region, and out of a desire to broaden our mechanisms for reconciliation and dialogue.

At the Ibero-American Summits, held since 1991, Latin peoples south of the Rio Bravo have for the first time met exclusively among themselves to discuss issues of common interest. Meanwhile, another Summit has been convened in, of all places, Miami. All the Governments in America except the one I represent have been invited. It is said that three main issues will be discussed: free trade, collective security and the promotion of programmes to alleviate extreme poverty.

We will have to determine which of the two Americas stands to reap the greater benefit from the Miami Summit. If positive results for Latin Americans were to emerge from the meeting, Cuba would sincerely welcome its convening, even if we were not present. It could become an excellent opportunity to demand of our neighbour to the North fair treatment in trade and financial relations, as well as in the transfer of technology, and to request the Host Country to fulfil its obligations in the field of international cooperation. It remains to be seen how a Government that has cancelled its meagre aid programmes to the region could raise the necessary funds to alleviate poverty among the countries convened.

Let me now say a few words regarding my homeland. On two consecutive occasions this forum, by an overwhelming majority, has demanded the elimination of the economic, trade and financial blockade imposed upon my country by the Government of the United States. In both cases the United States has replied with silence.

It is not, as some would have it, a matter of victory for the blockaded nation and defeat for the blockading nation. Our friends or the Governments that fully

support our policies were not the only ones that voted to put an end to this irrational siege. The simple fact is that the great majority of the world is witnessing an action that has no legal justification, moral virtue or ethical principle - an action that violates not only Cuba's sovereignty but also the most basic precepts of international coexistence. It is a policy rejected by all countries that espouse the rule of law and mutual respect in relations between States.

In this complex and convulsed world that is supposedly pluralistic, free and democratic, the United States is trying to deny my country, Cuba, its rightful place as a sovereign nation. It is as if two centuries of relations between the two countries meant nothing. What is worse, it is as if the cold war had frozen forever on our tiny spit of land and sun, merely because we had committed the "sin" of wishing to be free and truly independent a scarce 90 miles from the most powerful country on the planet.

My homeland has been subjected to hardships probably greater than those suffered by any other country. With the collapse of socialism in Europe, our markets and our sources of raw materials and financing disappeared overnight. The process of overcoming domestic difficulties and reforming the economic and administrative structures conceived at a certain stage of our socialist project was also disrupted by the reinforcement of the policy of isolation and strangulation that our people had already been stoically facing for years.

In the midst of this dangerous combination of elements; despite forecasts, since 1989, of a Cuban collapse, my country has not collapsed, nor will it collapse. We have survived all kinds of strategies, from those promoting terrorist and subversive actions from abroad to those of exerting pressure in different directions in order to reinforce the blockade, which, as I said, this Assembly has rejected for two consecutive years.

This does not mean that the plight of my people is no longer harsh and complex. In recognition of the proven patriotism and national dignity of the Cuban people, this world forum should issue an unequivocal appeal for justice and reject once and for all the cruel hostility to which Cuba has been so long subjected.

The unequal struggle forced upon us for so many years has not mitigated our love of peace. Cuba still aspires to negotiated solutions to its disputes with any country, provided that those solutions are based on sovereign equality and mutual respect. This Organization is well aware of that. We are a mature and flexible people: civilized and faithful to agreements based on equality and sovereignty.

The series of bilateral meetings recently held in New York led to partial solutions to the age-old dispute between Cuba and the United States. The spirit of seriousness and respect that prevailed in those negotiations and the will on the part of both sides to find solutions made it possible to conclude a mutually satisfactory agreement that, if fully implemented, will lay the foundation for the normalization of migratory relations between the two countries.

We desire peace with all our neighbours: peace with dignity. Our sovereignty, our independence and the socialism that we freely chose will never be bargaining chips at any negotiating table, nor will we ever demand concessions of such a nature from any country.

We are increasingly opening ourselves to the world, without demanding or acceding to conditions. A great Power, however, is blockading us - and is blockading its own people and the sons and daughters of my people who live on its territory, preventing them from assisting and rejoining their families. Such cruelty has no parallel in the history of wholesale violations of human rights.

We do not beg, for our national hero, José Martí, the centennial of whose death in our struggle for true independence will come next year, taught us that mankind can never be ruled by cowardice and indifference. And, as he instructed,

> "We ask the world, certain of its reply, whether the sacrifice of a generous people that is immolating itself in its efforts to open up to the world will meet indifference or hard-heartedness from mankind, for whose sake it is acting."

The President: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Gabon, His Excellency Mr. Jean Ping.

Mr. Ping (Gabon) *(interpretation from French)*: Allow me to begin by conveying to the President, on my own behalf and on that of the Gabonese delegation, warm and brotherly congratulations on his noteworthy election to the presidency of the Assembly. His great experience in international affairs, along with his outstanding intellectual and moral qualities, are for us a guarantee that his presidency will stamp the work of the General Assembly with renewed dynamism.

We wish to express to his predecessor, Mr. Samuel Rudolph Insanally of Guyana, our satisfaction at his decisive actions in the course of the forty-eighth session.

I would also like to reiterate our appreciation and support for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose competence, rigour and effectiveness in the service of the Organization are well established.

The end of East-West antagonism foreshadowed unexpected horizons of peace and a bright tomorrow. Very quickly, however, the emergence of all kinds of extremism radically changed this picture of the future.

Today the international community is divided between the hope of settling age-old conflicts, concern over the persistence of contemporary conflicts, and preoccupation over the emergence in some places of civil wars born of ethnic or religious tensions. While the risks, directly or indirectly linked to the cold war, of world-wide conflict have faded, armed conflicts continue to sow death and destruction.

The resolution of the Cambodian conflict, the continuation of the Middle East peace process, the favourable progress of the conflict pitting Israel against its neighbours, the settlement of the border conflict between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and, above all, the abolition of apartheid in South Africa - to cite only a few examples - give us good reason to be pleased.

Gabon has followed most attentively the current positive developments in the situation in the Middle East. We encourage the parties concerned to hold on to their gains and to pursue the peace process under way until the agreements reached are fully implemented.

With regard to Cambodia, we appeal to all the parties involved to work for the consolidation of national unity and democratic institutions.

Finally, for the first time in several decades, apartheid is not to be found on our agenda. This historic turn of events is the result, first and foremost, of the sacrifices of the South African people themselves and, then again, of the efforts of the international community as a whole. Gabon hails the return of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa to the concert of free nations.

For the settlement of these conflicts we are indebted primarily to our world Organization, which, free of the burdens of the cold war, seems to have recovered the dynamism that inspired the San Francisco Charter.

The President returned to the Chair.

In this context, the end of the border conflict that for years turned Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against each other is an outstanding example of the merits of settling disputes peacefully. The parties to that conflict have abided on all counts by the opinion of the International Court of Justice.

My satisfaction is even greater because of President Omar Bongo's assumption of the chairmanship of the Ad Hoc Committee that was established in 1977 by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its fourteenth summit meeting and that is intended to provide a political settlement of that conflict. May this example serve to inspire the many States involved in conflicts to come into harmony with the spirit of the Charter of our Organization.

These reasons for hope notwithstanding, in Africa and in Eastern Europe there are real reasons for concern with regard to the prospects for peace and stability in the world.

With regard to Africa, partial and contradictory analyses aside, we must recognize that the peace and security of our continent are seriously threatened by civil wars and inter-ethnic conflicts.

In Somalia there is no event or initiative that allows us to look to the future with optimism. Quite the contrary: thanks to the ruthlessness of the belligerents, the international community is becoming discouraged and the conflict is becoming entrenched. This is why the Gabonese Government urges the various factions to speed up the process of national reconciliation on the basis of the Addis Ababa Agreements.

The conflict that has been tearing Liberia apart for so many years is still continuing relentlessly, showing hopes for peace to be illusory, hopes that were nurtured by the Agreements signed in Cotonou in July 1993 under the aegis of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). We would venture to hope that the recent Akossombo agreement, signed in Ghana, the eleventh of its kind, will lead to a lasting settlement of the conflict.

Thoughts of these zones of conflict lead me now to pay a tribute, on behalf of my country, to the Angolan Government for its determination to pursue negotiation. Gabon encourages the efforts to restore peace in Angola, in accordance with the peace Agreements concluded to date and with Security Council resolutions 864 (1993) and 932 (1994). Here we appeal to UNITA to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Lusaka talks to put an end to this war that has been casting a pall over Angola for almost 20 years now.

On Rwanda, I reiterate the appeal of the Government of Gabon to all the sons and daughters of that country to adopt a spirit of tolerance, harmony and renewed peace and begin at last to work towards the same goal: the reconstruction of their battered, devastated country. In that context, Gabon has not failed to express its support for the humanitarian activities undertaken by the United Nations through the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), by France through its Operation Turquoise, and by many non-governmental organizations. My country has also called for more effective and persistent participation by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations in the peace process aimed at putting an end to the tragedy.

Having hailed the welcome initiatives of non-governmental organizations and of Gabonese citizens to ease the suffering of our brethren in Rwanda, my Government has decided, first, to make a voluntary contribution - the funds for which have been released - to the United Nations Special Fund for Rwanda. Secondly, it will provide assistance to the afflicted populations, principally in the form of food products, clothing and medicine, which my Government is committed to sending to Kigali by its own means. The "air-bridge" for that purpose opened on 18 September 1994, when we delivered the initial portion of this aid to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Rwanda. Thirdly, if the need arises, we shall take in Rwandese orphans, in collaboration with international organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

In eastern Europe, the horror continues in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the negative result of the recent referendum is not likely to allow the speedy settlement of this conflict, which has gone on far too long. Here again, Gabon appeals to the parties to the conflict to bring peace to their region.

These tragedies have put the Organization to a harsh test. But, despite the uncertainty of the post-cold-war period, the United Nations remains a priority forum for creating and nurturing the collective search for peace. To do this, the passivity displayed by nearly all participants in international life must be replaced by a determination to take preventive action. In that connection, the Agenda for Peace outlines the action that needs to be taken to avert, as quickly as possible, situations that could give rise to conflicts, particularly action in the framework of preventive diplomacy.

For its part, Africa has not been idle in this sphere. Indeed, our major concern is reflected in the creation by the OAU of machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts. In the same spirit, the States of central Africa have established a permanent mechanism dealing with questions of security in central Africa, with a mandate to promote confidence-building measures among member States in line with the principles of the Charter.

The agreement on a non-aggression pact at the September 1993 Libreville meeting, the signing ceremony for which has just taken place in Yaoundé, Cameroon, attests eloquently to the dedication of our States to the values of peace and solidarity. But to be more effective operationally, and to play an active role in the decentralization of peace-keeping operations, this machinery should benefit from logistical and technical assistance from the United Nations.

To take due account of the new international political landscape I have described, the desired developments must be multidimensional, dealing not only with the structure of the United Nations, but also with its activities. I am pleased to note that there have been various initiatives to that end, including the vast process of restructuring the principal organs, which was begun two years ago. This has been reflected in such things as the beginnings of a debate on the reform of the Security Council, with a view to enlarging its membership and ensuring equitable representation of Member States. Gabon is in favour of such reform.

It is agreed today that international peace and security are no longer limited to political and military considerations, but that they encompass such diverse areas as the economic, social, humanitarian and environmental spheres. We think the time has come for this vision, which accords with the Charter, to be reflected in reality. To be sure, since the founding of the

United Nations mankind has made major economic, scientific and technological progress. But, despite these notable advances, some parts of the world continue to live in poverty and destitution.

For Africa, the United Nations has set up two successive programmes: the United Nations Programme for African Economic Recovery and Development, and the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Both were intended to contribute to the continent's sustained economic growth.

While the African States have fulfilled their obligations under these programmes, we have to say that the industrialized countries have failed to honour their commitments. It is also regrettable that the Rio Summit on environment and development, which had given rise to new hope and which for the first time had incorporated the concept of sustainable development, is suffering from a glaring lack of international support. Our expectations are not being met with respect to the financing needed to implement Agenda 21.

The Agenda for Development proposed by the Secretary-General should fill these gaps once the international community realizes the interdependence of our interests. I want to reaffirm Gabon's commitment to the major principles in that Agenda: peace, the foundation of development; the economy, the engine of progress; the environment, a basis for sustainability; social justice, a pillar of society; and democracy, the model of good governance. Yet beyond those principles we must study ways and means to implement the Agenda for Development, scrupulously taking into account the major concerns of the African continent.

In any event, for the countries of the South, the success of existing or future machinery for cooperation will depend on the role reserved for development activities and for the reduction of inequity. Here, the new World Trade Organization, which from January 1995 will replace the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, will have to respond to the needs arising from differences in the level of development of the rich countries and of the less-well-off countries.

After 30 years of independence, we must observe that African States do not always have the means to satisfy their peoples' health, educational and cultural concerns. Numerous factors contribute to keeping our countries in the spiral of underdevelopment. The first is that our countries are unable to process the commodities they produce or set their prices. This leads to a drastic deterioration of the terms of trade, because the prices of raw materials are not indexed to those of the finished products.

Moreover, the external debt and the cost of servicing it are a serious obstacle to the development of African countries, as is clear from the ratio of debt to exports of goods and services for Africa as a whole. Gabon, too, is affected by this situation, and for several years has been engaging in structural adjustment programmes. These programmes have not always yielded the expected results, especially since our economy is marked by, *inter alia*, excessive dependence on the outside world and by growing public and private debt.

In this context, on 12 January 1994, there was a 50 per cent devaluation of the parity of the currency of the African States of the franc zone compared to that of the French franc. At the time of the devaluation all the African countries of the franc zone were given equal treatment, but today discrimination between those States is being exercised. Gabon thus remains the only country which, because of its intermediate revenues, is refused access to the loan windows in flexible conditions, on the pretext that its per capita gross national product is too high.

It is true that devaluation could have some positive aspects, including a relaunching of investment, more competitive exports, a revitalization of the agricultural sector and a reduction of imports. But we believe that it is necessary, indeed urgent, to receive assistance in order to establish new machinery to help the most disadvantaged and the most vulnerable persons.

Our common destiny and international solidarity should prompt us to transcend our differences and give priority only to meeting the needs and ensuring the well-being of mankind. The interdependence that flows from this dictates that the industrialized countries, with their technological know-how and financial resources, should support the efforts of the weakest and most disadvantaged to participate in the establishment of this new global economy.

These days, States are confronted with trans-border scourges which individually they are incapable of stemming. That is true of the phenomenon of increasing flows of refugees and illegal immigrants, the illegal drug trade, malaria and the AIDS pandemic. Joint and

coordinated international action is required to attack the roots of these evils.

It is the custom today for everyone to emphasize the importance of the trilogy of democracy, development and human rights. In that respect - and specifically concerning democracy - Gabon, which was one of the very first African countries to return to political pluralism, has been making an effort for several years now to establish new institutions adapted to democratic rules and to promote the emergence of a genuine state of law. But we are aware that time is needed to achieve this.

In this framework, recently, in the presence of international observers, negotiations were held between representatives of the Opposition and representatives of the Government to seek ways and means to establish democracy by consensus - the sole guarantee of peace and social cohesion.

Unquestionably, the founding fathers of the United Nations wished it above all to respond positively to the questions the peoples were asking about the best way to organize international life. The statement of purposes and principles within the very first provisions of the Charter eloquently attests to this. Hence it is up to the United Nations system and Member States to ensure that at each session the General Assembly takes a decisive step towards the attainment of these purposes and principles that we hold so dear. I hope that this will be done at the forty-ninth session.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Kenya, His Excellency Mr. Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka.

Mr. Musyoka (Kenya): Let me join other representatives who have spoken before in congratulating you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Your election to this high office is a demonstration both of the confidence that Member States have in you and of the respect they have for your beautiful country, Côte d'Ivoire. We are confident that under your wise guidance our deliberations at this session will achieve the desired results.

I also wish to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Insanally of Guyana, for steering the forty-eighth session to a successful conclusion. During his presidency, Ambassador Insanally undertook several initiatives aimed at strengthening the General Assembly and improving its relationship with the other organs of the United Nations. We thank him for his dynamic and imaginative leadership.

May I also extend our congratulations to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, on the untiring and visionary manner in which he is managing the affairs of the Organization.

The peace dividend expected after the end of the cold war, four years ago, is yet to be realized. On the contrary, the world has been faced with the escalation of new conflicts and in some cases the intensification of old conflicts. The disappearance of the great ideological rivalry between the East and the West has enabled the United Nations more constructively to play its central role of facilitating conflict resolution and maintaining international peace and security. The emerging international situation has however brought with it new challenges to which the international community should respond in a dynamic manner and within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

Kenya supports the ongoing efforts aimed at reforming the United Nations with a view to adapting to the new challenges, and hopes that these efforts will be intensified during this session of the General Assembly. We welcome progress already made in the reform of the economic and social sectors of the Organization as well as the revitalization of the working of the General Assembly. However, more needs to be done, particularly in the context of the new Agenda for Development. Furthermore, a great deal still remains to be done in reforming the Security Council to enhance its effectiveness, its transparency and its relationship with the General Assembly as well as Member States. The open-ended Working Group of the General Assembly on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council has been able to highlight, substantially, areas where the Security Council needs to be reformed. It is our hope that the Working Group will reach a consensus on this vital exercise before the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The role of the Security Council has become critical in the new era. Kenya is cognizant, and appreciative, of the special responsibilities entrusted to the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, the circumstances which led to the creation of the present membership structure have changed. It is therefore crucial that the membership of the Council reflect these

changes and incorporate regional interests for a more balanced distribution of seats.

The United Nations is currently involved in an unprecedented number of peace-keeping operations. This clearly underlines the growing confidence of the international community in the role of the United Nations. During the forty-seventh session, the Assembly adopted the Agenda for Peace, which emphasized preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The most rewarding parts of this three-pronged strategy are the first two - namely, preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. This is especially true, when we consider that mobilization for peace-keeping is usually very slow. We are therefore convinced that the United Nations should invest more in preventive diplomacy and development to avoid the human catastrophes we have witnessed recently in many parts of the world, particularly Africa.

We happily welcome the victory of democracy in South Africa and the dismantling of apartheid. Kenya heartily congratulates President Nelson Mandela, his Government and the people of South Africa on the peaceful transition to a new democratic and multiracial South Africa. We are also delighted with the peaceful resolution of the territorial dispute between Chad and Libya. The positive developments in Mozambique and Burundi towards peaceful resolution of long-standing conflicts are indeed commendable. A comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict is now on a steady course with the ongoing implementation of the accord between Israel and Palestine and the recently concluded peace agreement between Jordan and Israel. We congratulate all the parties and encourage them to widen and intensify the peace processes.

International peace and security can flourish only if peace and stability exist in individual countries. The fundamental responsibility of ensuring peace and stability lies with the individual countries themselves. The Charter of the United Nations clearly underscores that responsibility under the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

With the recent resurgence of problems based on ethnicity and of nationalism, sustained effort is required at the national level to forge national consensus. All nations have to build their democracies on the basis of their national circumstances, experiences, traditions and aspirations, but within the context of the universal values and norms of democracy, good governance and human rights.

The international community also has an important role to play in the support of national efforts towards the strengthening of democratic processes, sustainable development, peace and security. Very often, international conflicts are fanned by the struggle for the sharing of scant resources and public offices in the absence of a wide economic base to absorb competing interests. Development needs, therefore, have to be addressed from a wider perspective. The international community's support for institutional capacity-building and human resources development is pivotal to sustainable development, peace and security.

Over the last year, the international community has witnessed the intensification of some perennial conflicts. The experiences of Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sudan and Liberia clearly demonstrate that there is no substitute for a political settlement negotiated between the parties to the conflicts. At the same time, the international community, particularly the United Nations, should be tireless in its efforts to assist parties to reach lasting solutions to these conflicts.

In this connection, regional bodies need to be strengthened, as their role in supporting development and facilitating solutions to national conflicts cannot be overstressed. The escalation of conflicts in one country has left neighbouring countries flooded with refugees and other spill-over effects, including the spread of banditry and illegal arms. Accordingly, we welcome the draft declaration on the strengthening of the cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations, and arrangements in the maintenance of international peace and security. Adoption of that declaration at this session of the General Assembly will be an important milestone towards strengthening the role of the regional bodies in the maintenance of international peace and security under the overall responsibility of the Security Council.

The magnitude of the Rwandese human disaster calls for extraordinary efforts in the mobilization of the United Nations system and the international community to stop the suffering of the Rwandese people and to restore normalcy to that unfortunate country. The decision to scale down the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda at that critical time contributed to the vacuum that resulted in the estimated loss of 1 million lives, with about 4 million people being internally displaced or fleeing as refugees. The experience of Rwanda calls for fundamental changes to United Nations peace-keeping

operations to ensure an adequate, timely and effective response.

We take this opportunity to commend the neighbouring countries for accommodating so many refugees and offering logistical support for humanitarian operations. We also commend the countries, international organizations and non-governmental organizations that have been extending critical humanitarian support. We are encouraged by the assurance of the new Government that it will foster the reconciliation of the Rwandese people. This calls for the intensification of international effort aimed at restoring normalcy in Rwanda. Kenya, for its part, has continued to play a facilitating role in the supply of humanitarian assistance to Rwanda.

On Somalia, we strongly believe that the continued presence of United Nations peace-keeping personnel is critical in the pursuit of peace and security in the country if we are to avoid the deterioration of a situation that is already unacceptable. We note with concern the Secretary-General's report on the growing incidence of violence and attacks on United Nations soldiers as well as the inability of the Somali faction leaders to agree on a formula for the creation of an interim central authority. While we commend the efforts of the international community in the search for a settlement to the Somali conflict, we are greatly concerned about the failure of the faction leaders to utilize the opportunities afforded by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and the Organization of African Unity, as well as the neighbouring countries, to bring an end to the conflict.

Somalia is a sister country with which we share an 800-kilometre border, family relations, and ethnic and cultural affinities. The very heavy influx of Somali refugees into Kenya has had a devastating effect on the most ecologically fragile parts of the country. The refugee burden on my country is still excessively high, with about 300,000 registered refugees. Kenya is cooperating closely with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in accelerating the resettlement and voluntary repatriation of refugees. Physical and social infrastructures have also been overextended due to excessive usage.

The national efforts aimed at mitigating the negative effects caused by the influx of refugees in the border region are constrained by the magnitude of the problem and the competing security, administrative and development commitments in the area. In this regard, while appreciating various forms of assistance from the international donor community, including the non-governmental organizations, to address the problem, Kenya further appeals to the United Nations and the donor community to assist in the financing of the rehabilitation of the physical and social infrastructure as well as the restoration of the region's ecosystem.

The border region security dimension is another issue of great concern to Kenya. Our people and our security personnel have been subjected to numerous acts of banditry by armed gangs crossing into Kenya from Somalia. For this reason, we are reiterating our request to the Secretary-General to reinforce the UNOSOM patrols along the Somalia side of the border so as to complement the efforts of Kenyan security personnel on our side of the border. We believe that the joint security efforts will significantly scale down the flow of armed gangs and individuals into the Kenyan side.

The problem in the Sudan has been of great concern not only to Kenya and the neighbouring countries, but also to the international community. After four rounds of negotiations in the past year, it has become apparent that the regional peace efforts spearheaded by Presidents Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Isaias Afewerki of Eritrea and Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, under the chairmanship of President Daniel T. Arap Moi of Kenya, within the framework of Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGAD), have so far not been able to bridge the differences between the parties to the conflict. We appeal to all parties involved in the conflict to be flexible in the search for a just and lasting solution. The international community has an important role to play not only in terms of humanitarian assistance but also in facilitating the settlement of the fundamental differences between the parties. In this regard, Kenya is very grateful to the Governments of Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the many others that have generously provided material and financial assistance to the process.

On Bosnia and Herzegovina, we are greatly concerned that despite many serious attempts at a negotiated settlement no solution is in sight. Kenya strongly appeals to the combatants to opt for a negotiated settlement for the sake of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Kenya is substantially involved in United Nations peace-keeping activities, having contributed military and civilian police personnel to various peace-keeping operations world wide. The enormous rise in the number

and scope of peace-keeping operations demands that the ability of the United Nations Secretariat to cope with such large-scale operations be strengthened.

While peace-keeping will continue to be a vital responsibility of the United Nations, the adequate financing of these operations, which now represents a substantial portion of the United Nations budget, is critical to their success. In this regard, we urge Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time in order to enable the Organization to respond effectively to the enormous challenges posed by peace-keeping operations.

The budgetary system for the peace-keeping operations also requires improvement. Notwithstanding the fact that peace-keeping operations are temporary by nature, it is cumbersome to approve budgets for periods of one to three months and usually retroactively. The current practice of piecemeal budgets compounds United Nations cash-flow problems, leading to the stifling of the operations of the Organization. Consequently, troop-contributing countries continue to subsidize United Nations peace-keeping operations at great sacrifice, a situation which cannot be sustained, especially by developing countries.

My delegation is also concerned over the growing number of fatalities and injuries among United Nations peace-keeping soldiers and other personnel deployed by the Organization. In this regard, the ongoing efforts to elaborate a convention on responsibility for attacks on such personnel and measures to ensure that the culprits are brought to justice is a positive response by the international community to this problem.

The world's economy continues to reflect sharp contrasts between countries and regions, with the industrialized countries, China and the South-East Asia region showing slight to rapid economic growth rates. The situation in Africa, on the other hand, is still of great concern, as the region's economy continues to show no signs of tangible recovery. The continent remains highly vulnerable to adverse international economic policies as well as to natural calamities, such as drought and epidemics, owing to its limited capacity to develop institutions and systems to cushion populations from these types of calamities. This situation has been compounded by the persistent recurrence of drought, debt burden, a decline in financial flows, low commodity prices, and the implementation of painful but necessary economic reforms and the uncertainties associated with major political reforms.

My country and many other African countries have in the past few years undertaken fundamental reforms to create, among other things, an environment conducive to encouraging investment flows as a necessary ingredient for economic growth and development. This underscores the determination of the African countries to speed up the recovery and growth of the economies. However, the sustainability of these efforts requires increased international assistance to facilitate an early realization of the objectives of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa. We hope that at this time, when many developing countries are implementing major structural reforms and the liberalization of trade policies, the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the setting-up of the World Trade Organization will lead to the elimination of all trade barriers and the expansion of international trade.

The mounting debt burden of the African countries, especially those of sub-Saharan Africa, continues to be a major constraint to economic growth and development. The problem of debt in Africa is worsened by the persistent low economic growth rates of the continent's economies. It is evident that the various measures taken by the international community on bilateral and multilateral bases to mitigate the situation, though welcome, have achieved limited results. Kenya believes that a lasting solution to the debt burden is a bold initiative for an effective reduction or cancellation of the bilateral and multilateral debt of the low-income countries, particularly in Africa.

The "Agenda for Development", as an instrument for the promotion of an action-oriented approach to economic growth and development parallel to the "Agenda for Peace" as presented by the Secretary-General, should be given paramount attention by this Assembly. The essence of it should be the recognition that development is a fundamental human right and that peace and development are intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Kenya affirms, however, that the State continues to bear the primary responsibility for its development while recognizing the importance of the complementary role of the international community.

Kenya subscribes fully to the view that the new Agenda for Development should be people-centred. While recognizing the importance of overall economic development needs, action programmes must give appropriate priority to the education, training, health and welfare of the people. The Agenda should take into account the fundamental role of science and technology

in socio-economic development, particularly for developing countries. Indeed, the new Agenda for Development should become an instrument for promoting a new consensus on international cooperation for development, rather than a process of negotiations for financial needs.

Kenya welcomes the finalization of the elaboration of an international convention to combat desertification. The degradation of fragile dry lands is increasing at an accelerated rate and claiming millions of hectares every year. The afflicted countries are fully aware of their responsibilities to fight this imminent threat, but their efforts will not bear fruit without the support of the international community. The mobilization of resources as called for in Agenda 21 remains critical. Commitments of new and additional financial resources to fund environmental projects, as agreed upon in Rio, should be honoured. My delegation welcomes the recent restructuring and replenishment of the Global Environmental Facility as a positive step towards the fulfilment of some of the Rio commitments.

My delegation welcomes the establishment of the Office of Internal Oversight Services, headed by an Under-Secretary-General. We hope that the establishment of this Office will lead to greater efficiency and the reduction of waste and mismanagement, which the international community can ill afford. We also hope that the United Nations will now foster greater transparency in the awarding of United Nations contracts and in the procurement of goods and services, taking into account the cost-effectiveness of obtaining such goods and services from sources closer to the recipient countries.

As a country that is host to one of the United Nations centres, Kenya wishes to reiterate its commitment to cooperating with the United Nations in its efforts to strengthen the United Nations Centre in Nairobi, the capacity of which remains underutilized despite its enormous potential. In this connection, Kenya urges that the permanent secretariats of environmentally-related conventions, including those on biodiversity, climate change and desertification, be located in Nairobi, taking into full account the need for utilization of the capacity of the new secretariats and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as well as the human-settlement secretariats based in the United Nations Centre in Nairobi. Indeed, this would be consistent with the wish of the General Assembly and the governing bodies of the two organizations concerned, which have called for the strengthening, harmonization, cost-effectiveness and enhancement of the efficiency of UNEP and other United Nations programmes.

The recently concluded International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo clearly underlines the resolve of the international community to coordinate actions and strategies on social development as envisaged in the United Nations Charter. The resolve of the international community to deal with the problems of population and development in accordance with the Cairo Programme of Action, which was adopted by consensus, gives us a strong basis for tackling population problems.

Kenya associates itself with the preparations and anticipated positive results of the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen. We hope that the Summit will come up with programmes and commitments which will effectively address the problems of poverty and social integration and lead to sustainable economic growth and broad-based social development. We are of the view that national action and international cooperation should give priority to the eradication of poverty, the elimination of obstacles to economic and social development, the expansion of productive employment, and the creation of a favourable international economic and social environment.

The Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing, China, in 1995 offers a suitable opportunity to build on the successes of the 1985 Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies and to solidify the gains of women in all spheres of life. All necessary steps at the national, regional and international levels should be taken to develop a political, economic, social and cultural environment conducive to the full integration of women into sustainable processes of development.

Kenya also looks forward to the successful outcome of the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) to be held in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996. In order to ensure broad-based national preparations for the Conference, the national Steering Committee has prepared a work programme incorporating the mobilization of action in the shelter sector so as to create public awareness. My delegation acknowledges the significant progress made in the preparatory process by the HABITAT II secretariat in Nairobi, under the direction of the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Wally N'Dow. However, financial limitations are hampering elements of the preparatory process. We hope that these constraints will soon be overcome.

Any durable international system must have a sound legal regime, backed by principles of respect for and compliance with the rule of law at domestic and international levels. The recognition by States of their obligation to abide by these principles is not only an indispensable requirement, but also forms the fabric of international norms and standards which guide lawful international behaviour.

It is in this context, therefore, that we hail the decision to hold an International Congress on International Law in March 1995 here in New York, under the framework of the United Nations Decade of International Law.

In 1989, Kenya joined the growing number of nations that have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. A few weeks from today, on 16 November 1994, the world community will witness the entry into force of this Convention. This long-awaited event, which marks the culmination of a process started many years ago, is a significant milestone in the human endeavour to create a new legal order for the oceans.

African States do not possess the requisite scientific knowledge, technological capacity and management skills to be able to explore and exploit the marine living and non-living resources. The Convention, as well as Agenda 21, both of which furnish the basic blueprint for cooperation in marine and ocean areas, have laid emphasis on the significance of the development of manpower, technological capacity and training, particularly in the developing countries. We believe that these and other allied problems should be addressed to enable African countries to derive benefits from the rights and opportunities offered by the Convention. It is our hope that, following the successful conclusion and adoption of the agreement on the implementation of deep seabed mining, all States will now become parties to the Convention, in order to secure universal participation.

In conclusion, we feel confident that, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community has the requisite resources and talents to deal effectively with the global concerns and challenges facing it. In particular, the Organization will have to address the crucial issues of maintenance of international peace and security, sustainable development, the environment, humanitarian issues and reform of the United Nations. In conformity with the aspirations of the Charter expressed in the words "We the peoples", everybody throughout the world has high expectations of this Organization. We cannot and must not let them down.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi.

Mr Mocumbi (Mozambique): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, I wish to express my sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We are delighted to see a son of Africa, a distinguished diplomat from Côte d'Ivoire, a country with which Mozambique entertains friendly relations, presiding over our deliberations. I should like to pledge my delegation's cooperation in the discharge of your duties. I am confident that under your able leadership our deliberations will be successful.

I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey through you, Mr. President, my utmost appreciation to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Samuel Insanally, for the brilliant manner in which he conducted the work of the previous General Assembly session.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, deserves our warmest felicitations for the competent manner in which he has been discharging his duties. The people and the Government of the Republic of Mozambique remain grateful to his untiring efforts and dedication to the cause of peace in my country.

Our participation in this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly takes place at a crucial moment for my country. In about three weeks' time the people of Mozambique will cast their ballots in the first multiparty elections scheduled for 27 and 28 October.

The electoral campaign was inaugurated on 22 September last. To this end, 14 political parties, including two coalitions, are running for parliament and 12 candidates are contesting the presidential elections.

The electoral census shows that more than 6.3 million people of an estimated 7.5 million eligible voters have been registered. Given the existing difficulties deriving from 16 years of armed conflict, we believe the number of registered voters is quite significant and encouraging.

A code of conduct aimed at ensuring that the electoral process is carried out harmoniously was signed by presidential candidates before the beginning of the campaign. A similar document was also signed by the 14 contesting political parties. Both codes establish specific rules and guidelines which must be observed during the campaign. In these documents, all parties have, *inter alia*, pledged to commit themselves to abide by and respect fully the results of the general elections, once they are certified to have been free and fair by the United Nations.

The forthcoming multiparty general elections represent the culmination of a long and delicate process of implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, signed in Rome in October 1992. The cantonment and demobilization of forces, including the dissolution of the High Command of the former Mozambican Armed Forces, has been concluded. In addition, the Government has transferred all its military assets and infrastructure to the new army. The formation of the agreed 30,000-strong Mozambican Defense Force (FADM) is also under way. However, owing to logistical and material difficulties facing the execution of this commitment, we will have a single army of only about 10,000 men by the time of the elections.

My Government appreciates the fact that a mission of the Security Council has recently visited Mozambique to verify on the ground the status of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement and the performance of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). We took note with satisfaction of the conclusion arrived at by the mission, according to which conditions exists in Mozambique for the holding of free and fair elections, and that the United Nations will immediately endorse the results of these elections, as soon as they are declared free and fair. My Government attaches great importance to the need for ONUMOZ to certify that the signatories of the Rome Agreement have fully respected their commitments regarding the complete demobilization of their forces, so as to ensure a climate free of fear and intimidation during and after the elections.

As we move closer to the final stage of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, the people of Mozambique look forward to a lasting peace and stability under which national unity will be preserved and national reconstruction will be carried on as a matter of priority for the progress and prosperity of our country. That is why my Government and my party, FRELIMO, believe that the winner of the forthcoming elections should be able to form a government which, taking into account the best interests of the nation, will select men and women - irrespective of their political affiliations - with proven qualities of leadership and with a recognized capacity in the management of government affairs who are dedicated to serving the people and preserving peace and stability in the country.

As President Chissano stated about 10 days ago, on the opening day of the electoral campaign, the government that will emerge from the forthcoming elections should be one that brings together all Mozambican citizens - a government that should truly serve the nation. He reiterated that, should he win the election, he would be guided by the ideals of reconciliation, dialogue and tolerance among all Mozambicans. That means that his government would seek permanent dialogue with the opposition in order to achieve consensus on the major issues and policies facing our country.

We believe that the winner must commit himself to strengthening institutional mechanisms that can ensure an effective participation by the opposition in the decision-making process, particularly within the framework of the Assembly of the Republic. Every guarantee will be extended to the opposition so as to enable it to play a meaningful and active role in the political life of the country.

That is our vision of the post-electoral future in Mozambique, a vision that will give high priority to the issue of unity and reconciliation, peace and stability, and rehabilitation and development in our country.

In the meantime, it is our strong belief that the international community should encourage and put pressure on the parties to faithfully implement the Rome Agreement and to pre-empt any move aimed at renegotiating the Agreement or undermining its implementation. *Pacta sunt servanda*. With the elections less than a month away, it is imperative that the signatories to the General Peace Agreement and the international community as a whole do not lose perspective and depart from the legal and political framework of that important peace-making instrument. If we are to witness a successful outcome of the peace process in Mozambique, it is essential that the signatories of the Rome Agreement respect fully their obligations and refrain from raising issues, conditions or preconditions in the implementation of the Agreement. The international community must therefore exert the

necessary positive influence over the parties to abide by their commitments under the Rome Agreement.

My Government is determined to fulfil its obligations under the Agreement. In the course of 19 years of independence, FRELIMO and the Government of Mozambique have always respected their commitments, both at home and at the international level. We have successfully established multiparty democracy in Mozambique; we have successfully embarked on economic reforms; and we have successfully concluded the General Peace Agreement. Today, at this critical juncture, we are once again ready to honour our obligations and responsibilities.

Mozambique is emerging from 16 years of a devastating conflict that has deeply rent its economic and social fabric. Therefore, apart from the relentless efforts that the Government has been deploying in honouring its obligations within the framework of the General Peace Agreement, our endeavour is also directed towards the monumental task of national reconstruction. This noble task constitutes a basic component of the whole process towards a lasting peace in Mozambique. Our success in national reconstruction will greatly contribute to the political, economic and social stability of the country.

The advent of peace in 1992 paved the way for the Government to fully embark upon the implementation of the economic recovery programme that was launched in early 1987. It is due to this undertaking that in 1993 our gross domestic product increased by 5.6 per cent as a result of a significant growth by basic economic sectors: agriculture, 8 per cent; transport and communications, 10 per cent; trade, 17 per cent; and construction, 3 per cent.

Likewise, the rate of inflation dropped to 30 per cent in 1993, as compared to 165 per cent in 1987. Economic forecasts show that the conditions are present to reduce even further the inflation rate in the years to come. This is an encouraging trend in the performance of our economy that provides confidence in its continued growth.

With regard to investment opportunities, the combination of two years of peace and wide-ranging economic reforms heralds a new era for Mozambican private-sector development. The role of foreign direct investment and other fields of cooperation with the international business community is recognized as being crucial to the success of national reconstruction in Mozambique.

Moreover, my Government is engaged in rehabilitating the economic and social infrastructures destroyed by war. The reintegration of demobilized soldiers into civilian life, the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, and the rehabilitation of socio-economic infrastructures such as roads, bridges, health centres, commercial networks, schools and water supplies are real challenges that will require the special attention of the government that will emerge from the forthcoming elections.

In this context, we attach great importance to the ongoing demining process, as it will contribute to the normalization of life throughout the country, particularly to the resumption of agricultural production in the rural areas. This task is both delicate and enormous, bearing in mind the nature of the conflict that ravaged Mozambique and given the size of the territory. We therefore wish to reiterate our appeal to the international community to continue, in the light of General Assembly resolution 48/7 of 19 October 1993, to render its generous assistance in the form of financial, material, technical support and needed expertise for the mine-clearance programme in Mozambique.

My delegation welcomes the call for a moratorium on export of land-mines and endorses the appeal contained in the 1994 report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization for the international community to take appropriate measures to limit the production, use and sale of anti-personnel land-mines with a view to achieving their complete ban.

Since the last session of the General Assembly, the southern African region has witnessed an unprecedented historical event. My delegation wishes to join the previous speakers in welcoming a free and democratic South Africa back into the family of nations. With the presence of President Mandela in this Assembly Hall this morning, we honour the people of South Africa, all the men and women in southern Africa, and people all over the world who have contributed to the struggle for the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid.

The accession to power of a democratically elected Government in South Africa represents the dawning of a new era not only in that sister country but also in the African continent in general. It is our firm expectation to see all the people of South Africa, regardless of their colour or social background, learn how to live together in harmony.

The new South Africa represents the end of the policy of destabilization in southern Africa and the setting up of a peaceful environment at the regional level, which will certainly lead to a fruitful cooperation among the States of the region in their quest for progress and economic development.

The eradication of the apartheid system in South Africa and the consolidation of multi-party democracy in the countries of the region have paved the way for the establishment of a climate of peace and stability in southern Africa. The countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), in building their community, are pursuing their joint efforts towards common regional security by addressing issues of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. The prospects of lasting peace and stability in southern Africa will allow us the opportunity to redouble our efforts within the SADC region in our search for progress. Furthermore, peace and stability in southern Africa will ensure our participation as equal partners in development cooperation with other regional economic groupings.

The present session of the General Assembly provides us with an excellent opportunity for a joint assessment of current international political and socio-economic developments. We note with concern that the end of the cold war has not meant the end of armed conflicts around the world. Indeed, armed conflicts continue to proliferate, especially at the regional level, where they constitute a real threat to international peace and security.

In this context, my delegation is particularly concerned by the tragedy and untold suffering which are taking place in the African country of Rwanda. Thousands of innocent people have fallen victim to violence, and as a result thousands more have been forced to leave the country, thus sparking another humanitarian crisis in our conflict-torn continent. We in Mozambique, having experienced a long-lasting conflict, wish to appeal to all parties concerned in Rwanda to settle their differences through dialogue. Only dialogue can bring peace and an end to the tragic situation and human suffering in that martyred country.

Peace in Angola cannot be delayed any longer. While we appreciate the role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and his recent initiatives to bring about a successful outcome at the Lusaka Talks, we still believe that the United Nations should redouble its efforts aimed at putting pressure on UNITA to respect the Bicesse Accords fully and abide by their letter and spirit. My delegation appeals to UNITA to lay down its weapons and seek to achieve its political objectives through dialogue and national reconciliation as a legalized political party.

In the light of Security Council resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 and 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994, the United Nations has a moral obligation to exhort UNITA to negotiate with the necessary seriousness, and in good faith, and to cooperate with the Government of Angola on an expeditious conclusion of negotiations under way in Lusaka. We further welcome Security Council resolution 945 (1994) of 29 September 1994 which, *inter alia*, calls upon both parties to honour the commitments already made by them at the Lusaka Peace Talks and urges them to complete their negotiations as soon as possible and to make every necessary effort to have the Lusaka Agreement formally signed before 31 October 1994.

In the Middle East, we note with satisfaction the implementation of the peace accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which have resulted in autonomy for Gaza and Jericho and the return of the PLO leader to his motherland. In the same manner, we believe that the recent Declaration signed by Jordan and Israel is a significant step forward in the relaxation of tensions in the region. The international community should continue to support these developments for the restoration of peace and mutual confidence in the Middle East. We encourage Israel and Syria to continue negotiations in order to conclude an early agreement on issues which for so long have been a source of conflict between the two countries.

The question of East Timor continues to be of grave concern to the international community. My Government wishes to express its support for all initiatives for a genuine dialogue conducive to the achievement of self-determination by the people of East Timor.

We have been following with keen interest the ongoing debate on the restructuring of the United Nations, in particular the flowing ideas within the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council. We believe that the expansion of the Council must reflect the growing need for justice and a balance of interests among nations and continents, with emphasis on increased permanent membership for developing countries in general and Africa in particular. To this end, we should sofar as possible work during the

current session of the General Assembly to achieve consensus on this issue.

In our opinion, the adequate representation of developing countries on the Security Council will rectify imbalances deriving from the current composition of this body and ensure its efficiency and legitimacy. Above all, it will confer a democratic nature on the decisions taken by that organ. In this context, my delegation fully subscribes to the African common position on this issue adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 29 September.

Since last year's debate on this issue, some countries have been singled out as qualifying for additional permanent membership on the Security Council. This year a number of countries have described Brazil as meeting the requirements for permanent membership in the framework of these reforms. My delegation fully shares that view.

The presence of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique offers an opportunity to address the issue of peace-keeping operations. As we have stated on several occasions, peace-keeping forces will succeed only if they strictly adhere to the fundamental principles which guide them and scrupulously respect the terms of reference of the mission for which they have been established.

It is our considered position that there is no universal formula for the success of each and every peace-keeping mission. In this connection, we feel that, though we may recognize the basic rules that govern peace-keeping activities, it is important to bear in mind specific situations and concrete agreements that have to be fully observed in each case. In other words, we cannot prescribe the same medicine for every kind of disease. This could be a prescription for death rather than for recovery, a recipe for disaster rather than for success. We believe that it is extremely important for the United Nations always to take into account the need to safeguard the sovereignty of the State concerned. Where there is a Government, even with weak institutions, peace-keeping missions should work in close cooperation and consultation with the local authorities and respect and strengthen those institutions, rather than try to weaken or undermine them.

The International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo last month was a landmark in the efforts to control world-wide population growth in favour of sustainable development. The Programme of Action adopted by the Conference responds to the challenges that lie ahead of us. Similarly, the World Summit for Social Development, scheduled to take place in Copenhagen in March 1995, will offer an opportunity to the nations of the world to arrive at common ground on today's pressing issues, such as the social integration of disadvantaged and marginalized segments of the population and the eradication of poverty, especially in the developing countries. The Summit should also emphasize the need to improve the quality of life as an integrated approach to sustainable development, by incorporating health concerns in developmental strategies.

Similarly, we look forward to the holding of the World Conference on Women, in Beijing in September next year. It is our expectation that the Beijing Conference will culminate in the adoption of comprehensive strategies and policies in order to address pressing issues affecting women world wide.

It is regrettable to note that, four years after the holding of the World Summit for Children, the situation of children world-wide continues to be deplorable and a matter of concern. Amongst them, children in conflict situations deserve our special attention. My country is faced with an adverse environment for children, a legacy of 16 years of devastating war, which, among other things, broke up entire families and left many children orphans or deeply traumatized and without any kind of comfort or family warmth.

We therefore welcome resolution 48/157 of 20 December 1993 which, *inter alia*, requested the Secretary-General to appoint an expert to undertake a comprehensive study of the question of the protection of children affected by armed conflicts. We in Mozambique feel honoured by the Secretary-General's recent nomination of Mrs. Graça Machel to coordinate a working group on such a study.

Thirty years have now elapsed since Mozambique embarked on the search for independence and peace. It has been a long and difficult journey. Today we are at a crucial stage in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique and of the holding of multiparty general elections. On behalf of my Government, I would like to seize this occasion to reiterate our deepest appreciation to the international community for the solidarity and support it has extended to our people. It is our firm belief that we will continue to enjoy this support for the consolidation of peace, progress and prosperity in our country.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

United Nations

A/49/PV.16

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

16th Meeting
Tuesday, 4 October 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Address by Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency the Honourable Ali Hassan Mwinyi, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Mwinyi: I wish to join my fellow Heads of State who have spoken before me in congratulating you most sincerely on your well-deserved election as President of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. As a distinguished son of Africa, you bring to this high office valuable experience, diplomatic skill and wisdom, all of which equip you superbly well to lead this Assembly - an assembly in which the faith and hopes of our people are reposed. Let me assure you, Mr. President, of Tanzania's whole-hearted cooperation and support as you execute your noble and immense responsibilities to humanity.

I should also express the great appreciation which my delegation feels for the dedication to duty and great leadership displayed by your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally of the Republic of Guyana, who very ably led the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly to its successful conclusion.

I wish also to acknowledge the untiring efforts of another son of Africa, our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who, together with his Secretariat, has continued to serve our Organization very well indeed. The Secretariat needs, and deserves, the support of all Member States in facing the challenges of their day-to-day work, often under very trying circumstances.

This is my second appearance before a session of the General Assembly since being elected President of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1985. I had the honour to address the forty-second session of the Assembly on 8 October 1987. I used that occasion, as the new President of my country, to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations and our commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Today, I am addressing this Assembly for the last time as President of my country. As members may well know, Tanzania has embarked on extensive political and economic reforms, which are proceeding very well, in peace and in harmony.

94-86525 (E)

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As part of the political reforms, the constitutional term of a president is limited to a maximum of two five-year terms. My second and last term, therefore, will come to an end towards the end of next year, a time when we will hold our first general elections under a multiparty democratic system. It is my great wish that I should bequeath to the Tanzanian people a functioning democratic system that will allow them to choose their own leaders in a free and fair atmosphere.

As I prepare to pass on the baton of the leadership of my country to someone else, I can only reaffirm the faith and confidence my country has always had in the United Nations system. All its imperfections notwithstanding, the United Nations remains the only hope for poor and weak countries like mine, for it is only through the United Nations that we can raise our concerns for human development, world peace, justice and equality without fear. The imperfections of the United Nations system have nothing to do with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter; rather, they are a product of the action or inaction of the Member States.

In this connection we are pleased to extend to all the new Members a warm welcome and sincere congratulations. Their admission has brought us much closer to our cherished goal of universal membership of the United Nations. We pledge to continue working closely with all nations to make our world a much better place for all humanity.

During my time as President of Tanzania, fundamental changes have occurred in the world. Some of these changes have given us reasons for hope; others have not. Our hopes that the post-cold-war era would bring a new impetus in our Organization for peace and development in all corners of the world have not yet been realized. The so-called peace dividend is not reaching those who need it most, that is, the poorest sectors of humanity. It is a pity that global tensions have been replaced by regional and national conflicts, with devastating consequences for innocent men, women and children. Whether on development questions or security issues, the developing countries, which constitute the vast majority, have seen little respite following the end of the cold war.

The collective security system envisaged under the United Nations Charter has not always worked to the satisfaction of many Members. This is because some Member States have, in the past, been reluctant to implement both the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Instead, loopholes and pretexts have often been used to justify action contrary to the spirit of the Charter. Today, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we all need to rededicate ourselves to the goals and ideals embodied in its Charter. This includes the need to make the United Nations and all its organs more representative of all its Members and more democratic. It is both hypocritical and a mockery of the ideal of democracy that some Members should preach democracy to the rest of the world and yet not accept the full democratization of the United Nations system.

This matter is particularly urgent in this post-cold-war world era. The emerging new power relations in the world can be either an asset or a liability, depending on whether all Members have the political will to enhance the representative nature and the democratic traditions of this world body. If such political will exists, I am sure we can make rapid progress on the expressed desire of many Member States to look again at the role, powers and membership of the Security Council. I am equally sure that if we all have the political will to reform the United Nations system for the better, we can quickly agree on enhancing the powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. It is these two organs that are important agents in focusing our Organization on the real and urgent issues confronting the overwhelming majority of humanity.

In his comprehensive report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, the Secretary-General drew our attention to the peace-keeping role of the United Nations in the changing international context. While United Nations peace-keeping and peacemaking responsibilities have been on the increase, the means to implement those responsibilities have hardly kept pace with these new requirements. With more than 80,000 civilian and military personnel serving in 17 peace-keeping operations worldwide, the Organization requires new commitment towards meeting the costs involved.

We should all strive to honour our financial obligations as assessed to meet United Nations peace-keeping expenses. We must not reach the point where training and deployment of personnel will be undertaken only by those Member States who can afford such expenses on their own. Such an eventuality will not only make peace-keeping the monopoly of a few rich countries but will also deal a fatal blow to our cherished principle of universality of participation. In this connection, we entirely support the proposal made by Canada last week in this Assembly for the establishment

of a permanent United Nations peace-keeping force. This idea has been with us for a long time, and now is the time to act.

My delegation takes this opportunity to salute all United Nations personnel in the field for their devotion to duty and their perseverance under increasingly dangerous situations. Many, including Tanzanians, have died in action. We mourn them. Many more have been wounded. They deserve our heartfelt sympathy. The safety and security of United Nations personnel must continue to be a priority, and we support every initiative taken to establish an international treaty for their protection.

As a neighbour of both Rwanda and Burundi, Tanzania has found itself deeply involved in the search for peace and reconciliation in those two most troubled countries. Last year in Cairo, we, the African Heads of State, decided that the time had come for Africans to take charge of preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in their continent, for our countries may be poor, but our poverty does not extend to the realm of humanity, dignity and wisdom.

In both Rwanda and Burundi, there was a time when our hopes rose high, when we thought that at last a permanent solution had been found to their endemic problems. In the case of Burundi, the high point was the election of July 1993, which was declared by international observers to have been free and fair. The transition of power from President Buyoya to the late President Ndadaye was equally impressive. That man, whom the people of Burundi had chosen to lead them, personified not only hope for peace, unity and reconciliation in Burundi, but also the dawn of a new era of peace, stability and cooperation in our subregion.

But some people in the military establishment decided to put their private and parochial interests above the wishes of the ordinary people of Burundi. What the Burundi people got through the ballot was taken away by the bullet. The attempted coup that followed in October 1993 resulted not only in the death of President Ndadaye but also in the death of many innocent people of Burundi. No one knows exactly how many died; estimates range from 100,000 to 200,000. But statistics alone are unimportant, as not a single life should have been lost in the first place; above all, behind these cold statistics are real people - husbands and wives, sons and daughters, all of whom perished leaving behind widows and widowers, as well as orphans.

In addition to those who died, over 700,000 others fled their country in order to save their lives; about 500,000 of them fled to Tanzania alone. Another 200,000 or more were displaced internally. With those events of October 1993, our hopes for peace and reconciliation in Burundi were dashed to the ground; since then we have been waiting anxiously for new developments that could rekindle our hopes.

We are encouraged by the efforts of moderate elements in Burundi to create a transitional government of unity, based on the concept of power sharing. It is incumbent upon those of us neighbouring Burundi and upon the international community as a whole to support and encourage the Government of President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya during this transitional period.

In the case of Rwanda, the event that gave us hope was the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement on 4 August 1993. The Agreement provided a comprehensive framework for the permanent solution of the political and security problems in Rwanda. But the Agreement, which had been so painstakingly negotiated, was held hostage by those who were keen to protect their own interests rather than the interests of the ordinary citizens of Rwanda. For eight months, the timetable agreed upon for the implementation of the Arusha Agreement was not followed. The only transitional institution provided for in the Agreement was the presidency. The death of President Habyarimana, therefore, denied us the only legal transitional authority in Rwanda at that time. Then began the worst carnage in African history - which, even as I speak, is still claiming the lives of innocent people, not to mention having been the cause of over 1.5 million refugees in neighbouring countries. Most of those who participated in the Arusha negotiations on behalf of the then Rwanda Government were massacred.

Following its military victory, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) established in July 1994 a fairly broad-based Government of National Unity. Tanzania was among the first countries to recognize this new Government. We recognize and appreciate the efforts and good intentions of this new Government to restore peace in Rwanda, to rebuild State institutions and to bring about genuine national reconciliation. In particular, we encourage and support all efforts of the Rwandese Government to create conditions within Rwanda that will give Rwandese refugees the confidence to return home as soon as possible. Rwanda needs to revert to a state of normalcy as soon as possible. A country from which its own citizens run away to save their lives cannot be

normal. Even as I speak, some Rwandese refugees continue to enter Tanzania. This means that the Rwandese people, especially the Hutus, still feel insecure - whether for valid reasons or as a result of the propaganda war waged by the ousted regime and its agents.

In this connection, the Government of Rwanda needs the encouragement and practical assistance of the international community to restore essential services and to re-establish the rule of justice and law and order. The traditional discipline within the ranks of the RPF needs to be maintained, and individual acts of vengeance must be contained. Innocent Hutu refugees must feel secure and confident that no reprisals will be meted out to them for previous atrocities associated with their tribe. On the other hand, all those guilty of the genocide in Rwanda must face justice. In this respect, we urge the United Nations, in collaboration with the Rwandese Government, quickly to make operational the international tribunal that will investigate and put to trial all those suspected of committing these atrocities. This, we hope, will reduce the motivation for individual acts of revenge.

The urgency of stemming the tide of refugees, and of effecting their subsequent repatriation, is of paramount importance. The refugee camps must not be allowed to acquire the character of permanency, as this would create an environment conducive to the political and even military mobilization of the refugees. In the meanwhile, we who are hosts to these refugees have a duty to disarm them and take whatever action is necessary to make it impossible for them to be mobilized, whether for political or military purposes.

Neighbouring countries and the international community should also warn the deposed regime and its army not to entertain thoughts of a military return to power. We cannot allow another chapter of this tragedy to be written in the history of Rwanda. For, as an English political philosopher, Edmund Burke, said two centuries ago:

> "The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered."

In this connection, I wish to emphasize the need for the Rwandese Government to proceed on the basis of the framework of the Arusha Peace Accord, which in my view remains the best hope for a permanent solution to the problems facing that country. As Facilitator to the peace process in Rwanda, I wish to commend the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, and the OAU Secretariat for the outstanding commitment they have shown to the resolution of this problem, despite the many disappointments along the way. I also wish to use this opportunity to thank the United Nations, as well as Belgium, Burundi, France, Germany, Senegal, Uganda, the United States of America and Zaire, which acted as observers to the Arusha peace negotiations.

I wish also to thank the United Nations agencies and all Governments and non-governmental organizations that joined hands with my Government in providing relief to the Rwandese refugees in my country. But the relief work is far from being over; new refugees are still coming in. The local communities which have hosted the refugees need to be compensated for the food and other services and supplies they have shared with them. The environmental damage caused by the huge and sudden influx of refugees also needs to be addressed as soon as possible.

The people of Ngara district in Tanzania have themselves been forced to live like refugees in their own country. The local population has been outnumbered by the refugees by a ratio of one to two. They face overcrowding in social service centres and endure tremendous price hikes, sometimes reaching 300 per cent over a short period, for all their requirements. And to this must be added increased security risks and criminality.

As for environmental damage, the influx of refugees into Ngara and Karagwe in Tanzania, between April and June 1994 alone, caused a loss of 18,000 tons of trees, with an estimated value of $12 million. The 400,000 refugees living in Ngara have since April consumed 200 tons of firewood daily, with far-reaching consequences for the environment. The international community needs to continue to be seized of this matter and increase its support to those of us hosting this huge influx of refugees.

It is only honourable for us as Members of the United Nations to accept that the role of our Organization in Rwanda has been far from honourable, and has been quite contrary to the principles of our Charter. While aid agencies and non-governmental organizations can do wonders on the ground, Governments wring their hands and wait for one another to lead the action. The crisis in Rwanda was made worse by political indecision within

the international community. My delegation can only agree with the OAU Secretary-General that, by our failure to act promptly, we too stand to be blamed for the loss of innocent lives and the suffering of an entire people.

African troops pledged at the OAU Summit in Cairo last June should quickly be given the necessary logistic support to enable the redeployment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) at its full strength to start without undue delay. The enlarged UNAMIR should then create safe zones along the Zairian and Tanzanian borders, which should be fully stocked with relief supplies so as to encourage refugees to enter these safe zones as a first step towards returning to their own homes.

Since my country became a member of this Organization, there has perhaps been no issue before this Assembly which has preoccupied us like the question of decolonization and the struggle against the apartheid system in South Africa. It is therefore a matter of tremendous satisfaction to us that decolonization is now almost complete and that apartheid has finally landed where it belongs - in the dustbin of history. South Africa's return to the membership of the United Nations is a victory for all the people of that country, whatever their colour, a victory for the United Nations and certainly a victory for the international community as a whole.

The political and economic reintegration of South Africa into the rest of Africa is one of the biggest triumphs for Africa for many years. We in the southern African subregion are happy that at last our people can sleep peacefully without fearing a surprise attack or a destabilization campaign from South Africa. We are happy that the emerging peace and security in our region can now release scarce resources for the development of our people. On the economic front, we have quickly begun to reverse the years of disengagement from South Africa and to work together to integrate our economies through the Southern African Development Community (SADC), in which the new South Africa will play a very important role.

This, unfortunately, does not mean that all our problems in southern Africa have been resolved. Events in Angola continue to cause us a good deal of anxiety. Through its endless intransigency, UNITA continues to create problems for the Angolan peace talks in Lusaka under United Nations mediation. I think the time has come for the international community to exert final pressure on UNITA to stop it from continuing to obstruct these peace efforts. We must not forget that the MPLA party won the elections sponsored by the United Nations in September 1992. Yet, regardless of its victory, the MPLA has been generous in inviting UNITA to join a government of national unity. We cannot see why certain foreign Governments should continue to pamper UNITA as it comes up with new excuses to delay the process of national reconciliation in that country. Our Organization should tell Mr. Savimbi that he cannot have his own way forever. We therefore call upon all those with influence on Mr. Savimbi to ask him either to cooperate or face the consequences of the full sanctions promised in resolution 932 (1994).

In Mozambique, thanks to the determined efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), most of the difficulties have since been overcome. We look forward with anticipation to the national elections later this month in the hope that they will not only be free and fair, but also that all parties will respect and abide by the election results. We hope that the lessons from the Angolan experience have now been learned well and that the people of Mozambique will be spared the menace that Mr. Savimbi continues to present in Angola. We commend, in particular, the outstanding goodwill and generosity of the Government of President Chissano, which was demonstrated throughout the negotiating process.

Despite overall economic growth in the world, and the creation of numerous developmental and social institutions, poverty has been on the increase in most parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa.

A supportive international environment is crucial if we are to attain sustained economic growth in developing countries, especially in the least developed ones. The United Nations must be able to play a much greater role in this matter because, unlike the Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations is universal; its programmes operate everywhere; and it does not ignore countries. But I must add that the United Nations has to be strengthened, as mandated by its Charter, to enable it to play a complementary role *vis-à-vis* the other international organizations involved in development.

Most of the least developed countries, including Tanzania, remain among the most debt-distressed countries. It is true that the magnitude of our debt is marginal by international standards. Indeed, the indebtedness of the least developed countries does not have a substantial effect on the international financial

system. But in relation to the size of their economies, the debt burden is far too heavy and constitutes a major obstacle to sustained growth. In the light of an already grim financial flow situation, caused by declines in official development assistance, the crippling burden of international debt has seriously hampered development prospects for most of our countries.

As an illustration, if we in Tanzania were to apportion our total national debt of $6.3 billion to each of our citizens, every poor man, woman and child would be indebted to our rich creditors by the equivalent of their total earnings for over two years. Put differently, even if the Tanzanian Government were to devote all its foreign exchange earnings to paying off this debt, it would still take us over 12 years to do so. With a debt burden of this magnitude dragging us down all the time, it will be difficult for our economy to take off.

There is an urgent need for the international community to adopt a unified and coordinated approach towards a durable solution of the external debt position of countries like mine if we are serious about reducing poverty in the world. To achieve this, there should be a full cancellation of all bilateral and official debt, as well as a substantial reduction of the debt stock and the debt service burden owed to multilateral financial institutions and commercial creditors.

Nowhere in the world today are the social conditions more desperate and calling for more urgent attention than in the least developed countries. Declining income aggravates poverty and threatens the social fabric of entire societies.

It is our hope that the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen will be an important forum for the world community to focus on the social and developmental concerns of developing countries in an attempt to free them from the vicious circle of poverty.

The protracted Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) finally came to a conclusion in December 1993. We then met at Marrakesh, Morocco, on 15 April 1994, to sign the new agreement that establishes the World Trade Organization. We from the developing world, and especially those of us from Sub-Saharan Africa, signed that agreement not because we were happy with it or because we thought it took care of our interests. We signed it because the alternative was equally tragic. In truth, this new agreement will only mean the entrenchment of poverty in our countries unless compensatory measures are urgently taken in our favour.

It is already being estimated that Africa is the only continent that will actually lose rather than gain from this new agreement. Sub-Saharan Africa is expected to lose about $2.6 billion a year by the beginning of the next century. The cause of this loss is largely the entrenchment of unfavourable terms of trade, and the opening up of African markets to transnational corporations based in the rich countries, which will now have wider and unhindered access to markets in Africa and elsewhere. We will therefore continue to demand better terms of trade for our products in international trade, as well as preferential treatment where this is felt to be necessary.

It is now two years since we assembled at Rio de Janeiro to bring to its conclusion the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The implementation of the agreements reached at that world summit has been extremely slow and in most areas non-existent. The world is still far from the concept of sustainable development. The Agenda 21 document remains an academic masterpiece while the issues involved remain unresolved. Among other things, the United Nations, through the Commission on Sustainable Development, should assume a major role in helping developing countries to build their indigenous capacities in science and technology and in promoting access to existing technology on favourable terms.

We are none the less gratified that the desertification Convention has been concluded. This is a great relief for the 900 million people world wide affected by this phenomenon. We look forward to the signing of the Convention later this month.

We commend our development partners that supported the negotiations on this important Convention for Africa. The African annex to the Convention contains our commitments to implement the programmes of action in an effort to contain the processes of desertification and drought, which are exacerbated by poverty and underdevelopment. Unless there is a serious commitment by developed countries and multilateral financial institutions to extend the financial resources required to implement the Convention, the social and economic consequences of desertification and drought will be irreparable.

We welcome the timely initiative taken by the Secretary-General in preparing the Agenda for Development. The Agenda provides an appropriate framework for dealing comprehensively with the interrelated issues of economic and social development, the environment, peace, justice and democracy. Development is a shared concern of all nations and the acceptance of this fact by the entire international community will result in great success in dealing with this Agenda.

While we recognize that States must assume responsibility for their own socio-economic development, we must also recognize that this will be increasingly difficult without the assistance of the international community. The solutions to the problems created by poverty, rural-urban migration, the degradation of the environment and the complexity of the refugee situation will require an integrated approach. It is our hope that the Agenda for Development will project a coherent strategy for achieving a new and inclusive vision of world development. Such a strategy must bind all countries, both small and large, rich and poor, in a planned and implementable programme for human progress.

Tanzania attaches great importance to the full and effective participation of developing countries in decision-making for the resolution of economic problems facing our common planet. In addition, the Agenda should incorporate the various agreements and strategies for international development already adopted over the years in different forums and conferences. We must also identify the reasons why so many of these commitments and agreements, especially those related to developing countries, are still on paper only.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our faith in and commitment to the United Nations. In this post-cold-war era, the temptation to bypass, or dictate to, this world body might be quite high. We must not allow that to take place. We must instead work to strengthen the United Nations and its agencies and to entrench their democratic tradition. We must, at the same time, recognize that poverty, like the environment, knows no borders. It is in our collective interest that, as we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations system, we dedicate ourselves in practical terms to the eradication of poverty the world over. We must agree that poverty is as much a threat to peace and security and as much an affront to humanity as injustice, oppression and discrimination.

The President (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United Republic of Tanzania for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Programme of work

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of members of the Assembly to document A/49/452, containing a letter addressed to me by the Chairman of the Fifth Committee concerning the proposed revisions to the medium-term plan for the period 1992-1997.

I should like to ask Member States to submit, in writing, their views on programme 6 of the medium-term plan no later than Wednesday, 26 October, for transmittal to the Fifth Committee as soon as possible.

Agenda item 9 ***(continued)***

General debate

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Principality of Andorra.

Mr. Oscar Ribas Reig, Prime Minister of the Principality of Andorra, was escorted to the rostrum.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I have pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Principality of Andorra, His Excellency Mr. Oscar Ribas Reig, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. Ribas Reig (Andorra) (*spoke in Catalan; English text furnished by the delegation*): Your election, Sir, to the presidency of the forty-ninth session of the Assembly marks an important moment for your country, Côte d'Ivoire, and for the entire African continent. I have the honour to convey to you the warmest wishes of the people and Government of Andorra. I also take this opportunity to express appreciation of the great accomplishments of your predecessor, Ambassador Insanally.

I am speaking before you here only a few hours before the official opening of the Permanent Mission of the Principality of Andorra to the United Nations, the first diplomatic Mission of Andorra anywhere in the world. This Permanent Mission is the embodiment of the will of the Andorran people to participate actively in the implementation of the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of this Organization, our Mission will work towards the achievement of important goals. For one thing, it will make careful preparation for the World Summit on Social Development to be held in Copenhagen. The objectives of that Summit - namely, to find ways to reduce poverty, enhance employment opportunities and strengthen social integration - are particularly important in relation to the new possibilities for development under consideration by the Secretary-General in his "Agenda for Development". For another thing, Andorra will take part, with the greatest interest, in the work of the Third Committee, whose activities support our historic devotion to respect for human rights. I wish also to take this opportunity to acknowledge the commendable work of the new United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ambassador Ayala Lasso.

As president of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy stood before the Berlin Wall and pronounced that famous phrase, "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" ("I am a Berliner"). And for people everywhere in the world who listened to him on that historic occasion, the word "*Berliner*" was understood to mean "a defender of freedom".

For those countries whose culture expresses itself in the Catalan language, a similar moment has become equally historic. I speak of the day when the distinguished musician and universally recognized artist Paul "Pablo" Casals boldly affirmed, here at the General Assembly of the United Nations, before Secretary-General U Thant: "I am Catalan". Everyone understood immediately that, with these words, he was beginning a song of liberty and declaring himself to be the son of a people filled with respect for others, a people who had created one of the oldest parliamentary and democratic systems in the world, as he stated in his dedication to the cause of peace. Let us remember that the hymn of the United Nations, the Hymn to Peace, is his work, and that it was played for the first time, with lyrics by the poet W. H. Auden, on 27 October 1971.

Allow me today to humbly join two such important and respected figures and proclaim, in the same spirit and with the same passion, "I am an Andorran". And I hope that this expression will have the same meaning for you as the earlier assertions, and not seem to be a childish and self-centred show of pride, for throughout the centuries our ancient and small State has always demonstrated its love of freedom, its will to contribute to balance and harmony, and its concern to maintain peace.

It has been a little more than a year since Andorra became a Member of the United Nations, following the approval of our Constitution and the full adaptation of our model of statehood to that befitting a State under modern law. Because of this, and because of the fact that we are the last of the four small, historically independent European States - the others being Liechtenstein, San Marino and Monaco - to have become Members of the United Nations, it seems that this is an appropriate occasion on which to reflect on the possible contributions of micro-States to the family of nations.

It is evident that in a world in which great operations must be performed on a grand scale, the simple fact of our existence might appear anachronistic or irrelevant. Indeed, at a time when the establishment of the World Trade Organization points towards the end of protectionism, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, and the European Union herald the creation of large areas in which there is free circulation of goods and services, one might well question the need for the continued existence of a number of small States which often find themselves surrounded, as in our case, by large supranational entities such as the European Union.

Yet I believe that as we move towards integration, it becomes more than ever necessary to respect and preserve the identities of micro-States. It is clear that these identities are not measured in terms of size, nor do they allow for the subordination of a minority within a majority, of a smaller collective identity within another that is demographically larger.

As democracy consists of government by the majority and the respect of minorities, on the international stage the politics of large blocs and of great Powers must be compatible with the recognition of groups which, though smaller, must not be relegated in any way to a status that is discriminatory nor must they be considered less than what they are.

It is evident that all small States - and probably a quarter of those represented here are small States in one

way or another - have clear limitations. It is evident also that the contribution of great Powers to the establishment and the preservation of world order is, and must be, decisive. But it is also true that, beyond their limitations, small States have qualities that humanity cannot do without, especially at the present time when many peace and reconciliation processes have not been resolved and remain in need of great generosity, comprehension, tolerance and a will to compromise.

By their very nature, micro-States must, in an intrinsic and essential way, have respect for diversity and mutual harmony. Precisely because of their small size, they have learned in the long course of history that durable solutions cannot be imposed, and that the core of the differences cannot be eliminated. More powerful States can gain useful knowledge from their experience, built upon a wisdom that only centuries can provide. This is even more pertinent today, when the great Powers have begun to show a certain self-restraint, having discovered that while the use of force might postpone a conflict, it cannot be the basis for a lasting solution. May the great Powers of the world be guided by the rules of conduct that micro-States have been compelled to adopt, and may the necessity of the small be the virtue of the large. To propose rather than impose, to negotiate rather than to compel, to discuss rather than dictate, to reconcile rather than radicalize, to respect rather than humiliate, to cooperate rather than exploit, and to refrain rather than abuse: those are the rules of conduct dear to the small States, characteristics which appear to be increasingly necessary in many regions of our planet, if what we want is for the people of the world to live together in dignity and fight together against hunger, poverty, disease and the negative effects of the demographic explosion.

It is for this reason, that I venture to call the attention of the members of the Assembly to the virtues of the micro-States and to ask them to consider whether they might not make them their own. It is simply a question of the great nations making an imaginative effort to put themselves in the place of those who possess neither military power nor human and economic resources to impose on others, and consequently to realize that problems may be approached in another way, with probably better guarantees for a successful outcome.

This approach finds its origin in the strictest respect for the identity of others, of their collective personality and all the features that contribute to it, as well as their culture; for culture is always an element of integration. And it is precisely the balance of cultures and their interaction which is the basis for peaceful coexistence, which is in itself considerable, and even more for a cordial and fraternal life together. Let us therefore forget the worries of assimilation and the belief in the superiority of the majority, and let us try to organize life together with mutual respect, something that becomes increasingly important in a world under great pressure from demographic change and immigration.

Allow me to refer to my country, the Principality of Andorra, which with a population of only 61,000 inhabitants has three different educational systems - Andorran, French, and Spanish - three quarters of its population being immigrants, and a small territory stuck like an island in the middle of the European Union. And I believe that a study of some of the balances that exist in Andorra might be useful to efforts in southern Africa, in the Middle East, or in other parts of Europe and the world where people are struggling to bring about peace.

Think, likewise, of the great worries of our times, where the drug trafficking and organized crime have led to a dramatic deterioration in urban safety. Members might agree with me that the affirmation "small is beautiful" might appear excessive, but it nevertheless guarantees a level of security far greater than that which exists in the enormous urban conurbations of more developed countries.

I should like further to call the Assembly's attention to the urgency of the task of protecting the environment, and the defence of nature. Members might agree with me that a smaller territory is much easier to manage, according to environmental criteria, and consequently that there is less chance of environmental abuse. In the same way, the scarcity of human resources probably makes us more inclined to consider the problems that we shall discuss at the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, namely, individual problems of marginalized people, of those that cannot follow the competitive majority in the apparent flow of progress, of the disabled, the sick, and, in general, all those in need of solidarity. I know that in a forum such as this Christian individualism is just a partial approach to these questions, but I am convinced that, with a translation into other cultures or religions, on a small scale it is much easier to give a personal answer to the problems of the many. And also, in general terms, I think that this philosophy is the one that often inspires solidarity movements, as is the case today in Rwanda, where, for example, the spirit of collective life common to small communities might have prevented conflict.

In a world that is increasingly interdependent, and increasingly globalized, I sincerely believe that the micro-States, although indeed small, are not superfluous. And we can even make useful contributions and be points of reference in many cases. Sovereign States are increasingly affected by the sovereignty of others and by necessary international agreements; but freedom, and the spirit of solidarity are more important than sovereignties or borders.

I ask the Assembly therefore to consider the possibility that we all make an effort to act like micro-States: we who are micro-States, and therefore have no alternative, and those who are not, because they have come to the conclusion that this is the way we will all be able, together, to contribute more positively to peace, progress and coexistence. And as from the sum of small streams of water the big rivers are born, perhaps from the sum of small identities and from respect for others and minorities, we may be able to build together a more equitable, a more secure and a more livable world for us, for our children, and for generations to come.

The President (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Principality of Andorra for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Oscar Ribas Reig, Prime Minister of the Principality of Andorra, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, His Excellency Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali, on whom I now call.

Mr. Ali (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation congratulates you warmly, Sir, on your election to preside over this important for -ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute to your experience and outstanding achievements. It is also an expression of the high regard in which the international community holds your great country. We are confident that under your able stewardship this Assembly will succeed in advancing the noble aims and objectives of our Charter.

I wish also to record my delegation's profound appreciation for your predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Insanally of Guyana. He presided most ably over the Assembly as well as over the important Working Group on Security Council reforms.

The principal purpose of this world Organization is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The United Nations must ensure that the twilight of the twentieth century is not as bloody as was its dawn. We must act resolutely to end the series of regional conflicts that currently threaten international peace and stability.

The civil war in Afghanistan has compounded the suffering imposed on its people during the long and victorious struggle against foreign occupation. The world community should not forsake the Afghan people. We must continue to demand an immediate end to the hostilities. We must promote a new political consensus for the future governance of Afghanistan. To facilitate this, we must commence reconstruction in the peaceful parts of the country.

We welcome the temporary truce in Tajikistan. Pakistan hopes that the preliminary steps agreed will be implemented by the parties. This is essential to ensure the success of the third round of United Nations-sponsored talks, to be held in Islamabad later this month.

The United Nations must encourage the peaceful resolution of the Cyprus issue on the basis of a bi-communal and bi-zonal federation, in which the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot community would have equal status.

The Security Council must act, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to implement its own resolutions, reverse the Armenian aggression and restore the unity and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

We all bear a collective responsibility for the failure to halt and reverse Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. A holocaust has taken place before the eyes of the world. Two hundred thousand Bosnians, mostly Muslims, have been killed. Of them, 30,000 were innocent children. Forty thousand Muslim women have been systematically raped by the Serbs. Millions of Muslim men, women and children have been ejected forcibly and brutally from their homes.

While the aggression was going on, the major Powers went through the motions of promoting peace. The Security Council adopted 50 resolutions, but it has yet to implement them. Mediators appointed by the United Nations and the European Union advocated peace plans that rewarded the aggressor and penalized the victim. Even the right to self-defence has been denied to

the Bosnians. The United Nations Protection Force has supervised relief but failed to stop the war or protect the Bosnian people. It was only when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization carried out - belatedly - the threat of air strikes that the Serbs halted their onslaught against Goradze and Sarajevo.

The Bosnian Serbs have rejected the peace plan, which is, in truth, unjust to the Bosnian Muslims. It does not entirely reverse "ethnic cleansing". It does not punish the aggressor. It does not ensure the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia should be offered peace with justice, otherwise peace will not endure.

Pakistan and other Islamic countries are appalled at the Security Council's recent decision to ease the sanctions against Belgrade - the root cause of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. This will not stop the flow of military supplies to the Bosnian Serbs. It will merely encourage Serbian intransigence.

The Bosnian Muslims must be allowed to exercise their right to self-defence. Pakistan and other Islamic countries fully support the demand for the immediate lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. We regret the threats by certain countries to withdraw their troops from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) if the embargo is lifted. The Islamic States will be ready to contribute their troops to UNPROFOR to compensate for any shortfall created by such withdrawals. We call for vigorous steps by UNPROFOR to effectively protect and provision Sarajevo and other safe areas. We also urge the creation of exclusion zones around all safe areas.

If expansionism is not stopped in Bosnia, if genocide is not punished, the virus of war will spread to Kosovo, to Sandjak and perhaps to the entire Balkans. A wider conflict in this volatile region could have the most serious consequences for peace and security in Europe and the Mediterranean.

A grim and bloody struggle is also going on in Jammu and Kashmir. As in Bosnia, it is an unequal struggle - between the defenceless Kashmiri people and an Indian occupation force that now numbers 600,000. In Kashmir, as in Bosnia, the principles of the Charter, of international law and of international morality have been violated with impunity.

The struggle of the Kashmiri people is just and legitimate. They were promised by the United Nations Security Council - and by India and Pakistan - that they would decide, through a United Nations-supervised plebiscite, whether they wished to join India or Pakistan. On 26 June 1952, the late Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, stated in the Indian Parliament:

> "If, after a proper plebiscite, the people of Kashmir said, 'We do not want to be with India', we are committed to accept that ... we will not send an army against them".

But India has gone back on its agreement. It refuses to implement the Security Council resolutions. It has sent its army against the people of Kashmir. It has chosen to crush the Kashmiri freedom movement by brute force. Over the past five years, 40,000 Kashmiris have been killed; thousands more are in Indian jails. Thousands of Kashmiri women have been raped by Indian soldiers as part of a policy to break the spirit of the Kashmiri people. Whole villages and neighbourhoods have been put to the torch. Torture is routine; disappearances are common; and summary executions are standard practice in Kashmir.

India's massive violations of human rights have been well documented by impartial organizations and observers, such as Amnesty International, Asia Watch, the International Federation of Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, Physicians for Human Rights and many others. The world knows about Indian barbarism in Kashmir. It is unfortunate that the world has remained silent so far.

When faced with the possibility of censure by this Assembly last year, India offered to resume talks with Pakistan on Kashmir. In the talks held last January, India displayed no desire for a settlement. It repeated the fiction that Kashmir was an integral part of India. The Indian Foreign Secretary told us that India had the right to use as much force as it wanted to prevent Kashmir from breaking away. When the issue was raised at the Commission on Human Rights, India offered cosmetic concessions to prevent the dispatch of a United Nations fact-finding mission to Kashmir. Thereafter, it denied it had made such a deal.

On the ground as well, India escalated its repression as soon as international pressure was eased. The day after we agreed to resume talks, India conducted a massacre in Sopore, killing 50 Kashmiris. Once India had concluded that the major Powers would overlook its human rights violations because of the lure of trade and

profits in India, the repression against the Kashmiris and the rhetoric against Pakistan sharply escalated.

Let me quote from the conclusions of the latest report of Human Rights Watch/Asia, entitled: *India: Continuing Repression in Kashmir* (August 1994, vol. 6, No. 8)

> "As this report amply illustrates, the human rights situation in Kashmir is getting worse at a time when international pressure on the Indian Government has all but ceased. Indeed, it could be argued that the increase in deaths in custody and other abuses over the last six months is not unrelated to the signals sent by India's one-time critics, notably the United States: that human rights would no longer feature prominently in bilateral discussions". (p. 20)

I have seen the statement made here yesterday by the Commerce Minister of India. While I can fully subscribe to the high ideals which he has propounded, I find myself in the same situation as the distinguished philosopher the late Mr. Bertrand Russell, when he observed that

> "When one observes that the high idealism of the Indian Government in international matters breaks down completely with the question of Kashmir, it is difficult to avoid a feeling of despair".

India preens itself and postures on the issue of terrorism. Terrorism is the use of indiscriminate violence against innocent people. This must be condemned. By this yardstick, India is guilty of daily and systematic acts of terrorism against the Kashmiris. On the other hand, to resist a foreign invader, to repel an army of occupation engaged in murder, torture, rape and arson is not terrorism. It is the exercise of self-defence. Self-defence is a right as old as history; a right recognized in the United Nations Charter. Distinguished representatives: If your son was killed, and his body was thrown on your doorstep, how would you respond? If your daughter was gang-raped by the soldiers of an occupation army, what would be your response? The Kashmiri people have the right - under international law, under our Charter, under our resolutions - to resist the Indian army of occupation by all the means at their disposal. Their heroic struggle cannot be dismissed as terrorism. It is a valiant freedom movement which deserves the full support of the international community.

Pakistan is a party to the Kashmir dispute. Our people are incensed at India's brutal killing of our Kashmiri brothers and sisters. We have, nevertheless, acted with restraint. We have extended moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris.

Mr. Blandino Canto (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

We have refrained from extending military help to them. The Indian allegations of Pakistan's support for the so-called militants are designed to explain away the resilience of the Kashmiri freedom movement, to erode international sympathy and support for the Kashmiris and, more ominously, to create perhaps a *casus belli* for a new aggression against Pakistan.

The Kashmir crisis poses a growing threat to international peace and security. On India's independence day this year, Prime Minister Rao demanded all of Kashmir. In recent months, Indian politicians and generals have threatened to launch attacks across the Line of Control. India's violations of the cease-fire have escalated. During August alone, the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) recorded 142 complaints from Pakistan of Indian cease-fire violations. Indian firing across the Line of Control is specifically aimed at civilians. In the past five years, over 600 civilians have been killed on our side of the line. Pakistan's self-restraint should not be misunderstood. Indian aggression will have disastrous consequences.

There are three priorities in addressing the Kashmir question: first, to avert the threat of a conflict; secondly, to ameliorate the suffering of the Kashmiri people; and, thirdly, to open a credible diplomatic process designed to achieve a just and peaceful solution to the Kashmir dispute.

To arrest the threat to peace, I have addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council proposing that the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan should be substantially enlarged from its present size of 35 observers. UNMOGIP should be allowed to perform its mandate of patrolling both sides of the Line of Control. This would help to stem cease-fire violations, lower tensions and avoid the danger of a conflict. The enlarged United Nations Observer Group could also ascertain the veracity of India's allegations that Pakistan is providing military assistance to the Kashmiri struggle. I hope that the Security Council will approve our proposal. I hope that India will allow the United Nations Observers to discharge their mandate of patrolling on both sides of the Line of Control.

Secondly, to ameliorate the suffering of the Kashmiri people, India should take some genuine steps to halt its repression. We note with satisfaction that concern about opinion at this Assembly has convinced India to release at least two of the imprisoned Kashmiri leaders. This is a victory for the Kashmiri freedom struggle. These aging and ailing leaders will, we hope, be allowed to proceed abroad for medical treatment. Shabir Ahmed Shah, who, like Nelson Mandela, has spent 20 years in prison because of his commitment to freedom, has not been released. The world community must demand the release of this prisoner of conscience.

There is no evidence that India has given up its repressive strategy in Kashmir. This will become visible once India lifts the Draconian emergency laws operative in Kashmir, releases all the Kashmiris detained in Indian jails, withdraws a part of its huge force from Kashmir, and allows human rights organizations and humanitarian agencies free access to the occupied Valley of Kashmir. And we hope the international community will not forget the victims of Indian atrocities. As in Bosnia and Rwanda, the human rights violations which have been documented and reported by impartial agencies must be investigated by an international tribunal, and those who are found guilty must be punished.

Finally, the efforts to promote a political settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute must take into account three realities.

First, the Kashmiri freedom struggle cannot be crushed by force. New Delhi's forecasts of imminent success are designed to deceive the Indian public and world public opinion. The Indian army is caught in a quagmire.

Secondly, despite India's assertions about Pakistan's interference, the Kashmiri struggle is obviously indigenous. The Line of Control in Kashmir has 400 soldiers per kilometre. The Indians have wired and mined the Line. Nothing can get through. United Nations monitoring of the Line can verify this. No external force can convince the Kashmiris to offer the kind of sacrifices being made by Kashmiri men, women and children in the cause of freedom. For five years the Kashmiris have sustained their struggle. They will continue their struggle even if Pakistan wishes otherwise.

Thirdly, no credible Kashmiri group or leader accepts a "solution" for Kashmir within the Indian Union. The so-called political process advertised by India is wishful thinking. The All Parties Hurriyat Conference, which groups 34 Kashmiri political parties and organizations, has rejected any settlement short of freedom from India.

Arriving in Srinagar after his release two days ago, Abdul Ghani Lone said:

> "Any elections to be held in Kashmir are to be under the auspices of the United Nations and ... only for the right of self-determination".

The other released Kashmiri leader, Syed Ali Shah Ghani, said:

> "Elections are no answer to the problem in Kashmir. The people of the State do not accept anything short of freedom. There will be no compromise in the fight for self-determination".

India's attempt to organize another fraudulent election in Kashmir will prove abortive. As the Security Council declared in 1957, such unilateral actions cannot be considered as the basis for the "final disposition" of Jammu and Kashmir. This can only be done through a United Nations-supervised plebiscite prescribed by the Security Council. A final settlement of the Kashmir dispute will have to be based on the freely expressed wishes of the Kashmiri people. In a paper transmitted to India last February, Pakistan outlined the possible modalities for ascertaining their wishes.

Pakistan welcomes the Secretary-General's offer to exert every possible effort to "facilitate the search for a lasting solution to the Kashmir issue" (A/49/1, para. 542). We hope India will also accept the Secretary-General's offer of good offices, as Pakistan has done. Pakistan is prepared for talks with India on Kashmir. It was Pakistan which initiated the Foreign Secretary-level talks. But after six rounds of talks it is evident to us that India's ostensible desire for negotiations with Pakistan carries little credibility while it continues the killing in Kashmir. Pakistan does not reject dialogue, but it must not be a dialogue of the deaf.

Kashmir is a dispute between India and Pakistan. Every dispute between two States is bilateral. It is also an international issue. The United Nations is obliged to take cognizance of such disputes, specially when they involve violations of the United Nations Charter and the non-implementation of Security Council resolutions.

Kashmir is the key to unlocking the problems of South Asia. Kashmir cannot be brushed aside any

longer. The conspiracy of silence must be broken. A resolution of the Kashmir situation is required to avoid the danger of a conflict. A solution of the Kashmir dispute will also enhance the prospects of conventional arms control and non-proliferation in South Asia.

My Government believes that to reduce the danger of war in South Asia it is essential to promote a balance in conventional arms between Pakistan and India, at the lowest possible levels. India fields the third largest army in the world. Almost all of it is deployed against Pakistan. During the past decade India was the world's largest arms importer. Even during the Afghan war, India's arms acquisitions were over five times those of Pakistan. Pakistan's defence capabilities have deteriorated further since 1990. Last year, while Pakistan's defence spending declined in real terms, India's increased by 20 per cent.

Pakistan has made several proposals to India for conventional arms control: negotiation of a mutually agreed ratio of forces; measures to prevent the possibilities of a surprise attack, adoption of agreed principles for conventional arms control in South Asia.

Pakistan has no desire to expend more of its scarce resources on arms. Meaningful arms control and confidence-building measures could also help to stem the danger of a nuclear arms race in our region.

Pakistan's concern about nuclear proliferation in South Asia precedes the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). As early as the mid-1960s Pakistan had warned the world that India would misuse nuclear cooperation. The late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto proposed the creation of a South Asia nuclear-free zone in 1972. In May 1974 India exploded the bomb - ironically calling it the "Smiling Buddha". Pakistan made every endeavour to counter proliferation in South Asia. Apart from the nuclear-weapon-free zone, we advanced subsequent proposals: for the simultaneous signature of the NPT by India and Pakistan, for acceptance of full-scope safeguards, for joint renunciation of nuclear weapons, for a bilateral test-ban treaty. All have been spurned by India. A proposal made by the United States for a conference to promote non-proliferation in South Asia, involving Russia, the People's Republic of China and the United States, as well as India and Pakistan, was also rejected by New Delhi.

Pakistan has displayed responsibility and restraint in the nuclear field. While we have acquired a certain technological capability, we have not manufactured or exploded a nuclear device. We have not deployed nuclear weapons. We have not transferred sensitive technologies.

Twenty years after exploding its nuclear bomb, India is about to take another fateful step towards proliferation: the production and deployment of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles. India is continuing work on its medium-range AGNI missile as well as on intercontinental ballistic missiles. It conducted user trials of the short-range Prithvi this year. The Prithvi is a mobile missile. Once it is produced, Pakistan will have to presume that it has been deployed.

The President returned to the Chair.

It is still not too late to prevent nuclear-weapon proliferation in South Asia. Pakistan suggests two critical steps to avoid this danger.

First, we suggest an agreement between India and Pakistan not to develop or deploy ballistic missiles. India's production and deployment of the Prithvi will invite a matching response from Pakistan. We have advanced the concept of a Zero Missile Zone in South Asia. This objective should be endorsed by the world community.

Secondly, we suggest an agreement between India and Pakistan not to manufacture or deploy nuclear weapons. We hope India will respond positively to this longstanding proposal. We hope it will agree, as a first step, to issue a joint declaration with Pakistan renouncing nuclear weapons.

It is unfortunate that India and Pakistan have never succeeded in solving any of their disputes through bilateral negotiations. Agreements reached on two major problems - the Indus Waters Treaty and the Rann of Kutch Accord - were made possible by the intercession of a third party.

At this critical moment, when tensions are high and peace is threatened in South Asia, the States Members of the United Nations have a fundamental responsibility to bring to bear their collective influence to promote solutions to the interlinked problems of Kashmir, conventional arms conflict and non-proliferation.

Pakistan desires good-neighbourly relations with India. We want our people to devote their energies to the vital task of nation-building. We want to banish from our midst the spectre of rampant poverty. We want our people to live with dignity. These goals cannot be attained unless we resolve the Kashmir problem and others and build a climate of trust and confidence in South Asia.

Pakistan has embarked on a new path of socio-economic revival and growth. We have released the dynamism of our private sector. We have created an economic climate that is most hospitable to domestic and foreign investment, and the results have been most gratifying. Agreements for foreign investment of $4 billion were concluded 10 days ago with a delegation led by the United States Secretary of Energy. Additional investment is likely in the energy, telecommunications, electronics and other dynamic sectors of the Pakistan economy.

Today, Pakistan and all of South Asia have the chance to break out of the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment. We must not lose this chance. We must not let history pass us by again.

We meet on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. The end of the cold war has released both positive and negative forces that were long suppressed. The principles of democracy, human rights and free markets have triumphed. We have celebrated the entry into the United Nations of many new States, proud and free. The victory of democracy has been achieved in South Africa. The victory of peace may well be realized in the Middle East. Today, there is no threat of a global nuclear war. Unprecedented affluence has been achieved in parts of the world. Momentous technological breakthroughs have been made. We now have the potential to achieve global peace, address global problems and promote global prosperity.

But even as we celebrate these victories, the triumphs of reason and statesmanship, we must confront the dark forces of aggression, racism, fascism and bigotry, which have again raised their head in many parts of the world.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that once the restraints of the cold war structures were lifted, conflicts and disputes - between States and within them - should have erupted like an epidemic. The world community has been unprepared to confront and repel aggression - witness Bosnia, Azerbaijan and Kashmir. We have been unable to muster the political will to stop genocide - witness Rwanda. We are unprepared to pay the price to help the hungry and save the deprived of the Earth - witness the Sahel.

The principal task of this session must be to revive hope, to restore the confidence of our peoples, that we, the States Members of the United Nations, acting together, can build peace where it is broken; that we can bring solace to those who are suffering; that we can uphold and enforce justice where this is needed; and that we can enlarge the horizons of prosperity to embrace those teeming millions who are imprisoned in poverty.

Address by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted to the rostrum.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I have great pleasure in welcoming the Crown Prince of Jordan, His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Prince El Hassan Bin Talal: It is my pleasure, at the outset, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election and to wish you and the members of the Bureau every success in the discharge of your duties. Your election is a mark of the confidence and high regard in which both you and your country are held by the international community. Your wisdom and your forbearance will be crucial to the successful outcome of the current session.

I should like to express deep appreciation for the exemplary manner in which your predecessor conducted the work of the Assembly during his tenure last year. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless efforts to enhance the Organization's ability to meet the challenges of a rapidly evolving world.

It is gratifying to observe that the membership of the United Nations now encompasses several recently independent States. We share bonds of religious and cultural affinity with some; we share friendships and mutual respect with all. We hope that the principle of

universality, which has always been the cornerstone of the United Nations, will soon encompass the remaining peoples and regions, so that this Organization can truly represent the collective conscience of mankind.

It is, I believe, fitting to extend heartfelt congratulations to President Nelson Mandela, to Vice-President Frederik De Klerk, and to the people of South Africa. They have together established a new order in their country, one founded on justice and equality. The world rejoices at the return of South Africa to the fold of the international community of nations. The South African people have proved that peace is always possible, so long as all are given the chance to participate in its building. This is a theme that bears consideration.

As we approach a landmark in the history of the United Nations - the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation - it is appropriate to look forward rather than back; to take stock of things to come rather than things past. It is appropriate to consider the shape that our global order is taking.

South Africa offers a new paradigm, a fresh vision for a changing world. It shows us that a new order must have room for everyone. We must be able to listen to all voices: to the weak and the powerful alike. A new order must be inclusive and must actively encourage participation at every level: for in our ever- more interdependent world, the future of one is the future of all. This, I believe, goes to the very heart of global peace.

We are called upon, then, to articulate a new approach. We must protect the rule of law, but we must go further, and ensure that democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights come to govern the life of nations. We must evolve new procedures of cooperation, communication and accommodation. We must promote social responsibility, national commitment and international obligation. Nations must learn to coexist with their neighbours; but more than this, they must learn to work willingly together as partners in the enterprise of peace.

Such a transformation is taking place in the Middle East. My region has been synonymous with conflict and war for decades. At last we have an historic opportunity to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to fashion in its place a new commonwealth of peace, hope and participation for all.

The question of Palestine has been Jordan's main concern. Family ties, geographic contiguity, and shared history and traditions ensure that this is so. Over the years, Jordan has extended support and encouragement to our Palestinian brethren. Our contributions and sacrifices to the Palestinian cause from 1948 onwards have been widely acknowledged. My country has received successive waves of refugees and returnees, at a huge cost to our economy, imposing an impossible burden on our limited resources. Yet we remain committed to our democratization process, to the protection of civil liberties and human rights, and to the provision of decent living conditions and services for all our citizens. Underlying this commitment is our belief that broad-based popular involvement in civil society is fundamental to its health. This is why Jordan has been able to weather the ravages of war, to survive the long years of turmoil in our region.

If Jordan has been on the front line of war, so too has it been on the front line of peace. In those well-known words of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which my country helped to draft, Jordan has always worked steadfastly for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We promoted the genesis of the current process with the Madrid Conference of 1991. When the Israeli Government of the day refused to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Jordan stepped into the breach, helping the Palestinians to assume their proper role by providing an umbrella for their participation.

Now the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is negotiating directly with Israel. They are installed in Gaza and Jericho, and conduct their affairs as they see fit: their destiny is at last in their own hands. Jordan welcomes these developments, and will continue to do everything in its power to ensure the success of Palestinian autonomy arrangements.

On the Jordanian-Israeli track, our common agenda has paved the way for us to agree upon modalities in areas such as water, the environment, energy, territory, borders and regional security. These agreements resulted in the meeting between His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel, on 25 July 1994, at which they signed the Washington Declaration. This historic document ended the state of war between Jordan and Israel. I myself have just held constructive talks with President Clinton and Foreign Minister Peres, the goal of which is to build a framework of trilateral development as well as an economic equilibrium in the region, and to maintain the momentum towards peace.

Jordan and Israel are engaged in substantive talks, seeking just and mutually agreeable solutions to the outstanding issues listed in our common agenda. Our aim is to conclude a treaty of peace based on solid grounds that can withstand the winds of change. Such a treaty, we believe, will delineate our rights and duties under conditions of peace. It will open the door to cooperation at the regional level, so that the benefits of peace may be enjoyed by our peoples. It has always been Jordan's vision that the Middle East, cradle of civilization and birthplace of the three great monotheistic religions, should be a region of cultural tolerance and mutual interdependence.

Important as our bilateral talks with Israel may be, we are keenly aware that no two nations stand alone. Our aim remains a comprehensive peace. Many of the issues we are currently addressing defy the confines of bilateralism and require regional and international participation.

One such issue concerns the spiritual significance of the city of Jerusalem. For believers in the three great monotheistic faiths, Jerusalem must be the ultimate symbol of peace and its glorious manifestation. A final settlement on the political and administrative status of the city, however, will occur in negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis. Any arrangement reached must serve the needs of the millions of followers of Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

The economic dimension of peace is likewise a transnational concern. The economies of the Middle East have been shattered by the conflict. They must be revived if peace is to take root on the ground. Access to more equitable opportunities for economic growth will be vital. International debt relief and write-off strategies should be planned, encompassing improved concessionary terms by the Clubs of Paris and London.

But the States of the region must also play their part. Restrictions on trade should be relaxed. We must develop a non-discriminatory approach to sustainable development and economic well-being. We hope that the Middle East-North Africa Economic Summit at Casablanca will build on the achievements of the Regional Economic Development Working Group and prove a useful forum to explore the potential partnership between Governments, private businesses and international financial institutions - for this partnership surely holds the key to the economic future of the region.

International changes wrought by the end of the cold war have affected the political situation in the Middle East as elsewhere. The transformation of world power politics has been accompanied by a shift in attitude, modifying the cost benefit calculus of regional States. National strategic objectives can no longer be sought at the cost of others in a supposedly "zero sum game". In the context of a regional security regime, the size, the role and the function of the armed forces in individual States of the region are likely to undergo radical changes. These will favour peace-keeping functions, allowing scarce resources to be released for development needs.

In this context, Jordan fully supports the five dimensions of world peace and security outlined by the Secretary-General. I would like to add that Jordan supports the ongoing effort to streamline the United Nations, and fully endorses the attempt to increase the number of permanent members on the Security Council. We also support the American proposal that peace-keeping operations be strengthened by additional personnel, more effective field capabilities, greater cooperation between the United Nations and participating countries and a more united approach to training.

Here again, Jordan is at the forefront of change. Our armed forces as peace-keepers under the United Nations command as far afield as Georgia, Angola and the former Yugoslavia value the opportunity to take part in these missions, for in a very real sense, they allow us to participate in the unfolding world order. Jordan is proud to be involved in shaping global security arrangements.

As the peace process develops, it will be necessary to promote a common regional identity and a shared regional vision. All the Middle East must contribute to the articulation of this vision. The key, again, is participation. If the countries and peoples of the region have a say in shaping its future, they will have a stake in its success. And success will accordingly be all the more likely; for the diversity of our region is a positive asset that we must learn to use creatively. We will inevitably differ on certain issues, just as we will agree on others. But we must be able to discuss our views in the knowledge that they will be heard, for honest communication is the basis of genuine involvement in any joint enterprise.

In this spirit, Jordan feels honour-bound to register its concern over threats to the process of global reconciliation. Inertia must not be allowed to dominate the conduct of world affairs. Deep-seated conflicts will not disappear by themselves. We urge the international

community of States to take swift action to facilitate their resolution.

One glaring example is the ongoing situation in Bosnia Herzegovina. The appalling practices of "ethnic cleansing" and genocide continue even as we speak. My country abhors these atrocities. Jordan supports all the international community's efforts to end this tragic and wasteful conflict, and we have taken positive steps to alleviate the hardship it has caused. Jordan has joined the Non-Aligned Movement's task force on Bosnia. Our soldiers, who form the second largest contingent of the United Nations peace-keeping effort in the Balkans, are engaged in both humanitarian relief and peace-keeping duties. Jordan has supported the Vienna and Washington Agreements to establish a federation between the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia, and has welcomed the peace plan advanced by the Contact Group, supported by the G-7 summit in Naples. The Serbian challenge to the plan, in the face of Muslim and Croat acceptance, is cause for deep disappointment.

I turn now to the situation in the Gulf. The importance of stability and security cannot be overstated. International norms must be observed; the territorial integrity of all States must be preserved. Their sovereignty and political independence must be upheld on the basis of non-interference in their internal affairs. My country also wishes to reiterate its serious concern for the plight of the people of Iraq, where living conditions are deteriorating rapidly. We intend to do our utmost to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people, so far as is consistent with the provisions of United Nations resolutions.

The distorted image of Islam remains a cause for grave concern. The attention of this body should be turned to the spreading of Islamophobia, or hate for Muslims. This phenomenon occurs in all manner of ways, from the purely verbal to the bluntly physical. Its proponents deal in inflammatory rhetoric. They preach the inevitability of cultural apocalypse, tarring all Muslims with the brush of fanatical extremism. They ignore the fact that Islam is a broad and adaptable concept and institution. One billion Muslims now live on this earth. Thus, Islam encompasses all shades of political opinion, different patterns of theological thought, and countless varieties of human experience.

Jordan urges Member States to join forces in bringing about a better understanding of Islam as a religion, a culture and a civilization. The expression of anti-Muslim sentiment, and other manifestations of Islamophobia, should be monitored and combated by educational campaigns, cultural exchanges and similar endeavours. We have always advocated an interfaith dialogue as the surest way to combat bigotry and stereotyping.

More than a decade ago now, I stood before this Assembly and called, on behalf of my country, for a new international humanitarian order. That led to the establishment of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. The Commission was charged with investigating a wide range of pressing humanitarian issues. It performed its duties well, producing a series of reports that made clear the scale of the impending global humanitarian disaster.

It would be comforting to stand before this Assembly today and tell it that its work has made a significant difference. It would be comforting, but it would not be true. A new international humanitarian order has not come into being. The powerless remain powerless. The dispossessed have not recovered their birthrights. There are more refugees, more street children, more innocent victims of conflict than ever before. What is worse, these issues are still addressed in a piecemeal fashion. It is often said that one should not try to treat a mass of symptoms, but to seek out root causes. Remarkably, it sometimes seems that far from seeking causes we are doing our best to ignore the symptoms.

Today, I have tried to address causes. I have spoken of the fundamental need for participation at all levels. I have put before the Assembly a vision of a global order characterized by partnership and communication, tolerance and trust. In some places this vision is on the road to realization; in others, it has seldom been more remote. The alternatives are very clear, and the choice is ours.

I pledge my country's full support to this Organization, for as we move towards the twenty-first century, and as the Organization moves towards its fiftieth anniversary, the ideal that inspired the Charter of the United Nations has never been more important.

The President *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the statement he has just made.

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, His Excellency Mr. Ali Alatas.

Mr. Alatas (Indonesia): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, also on behalf of the Indonesian delegation, our congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. We are gratified that the stewardship of this session is entrusted to a seasoned diplomat and statesman, representing a fraternal African country with which Indonesia has traditionally enjoyed close relations of friendship and cooperation.

May I also express our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Insanally of Guyana, for so capably guiding our work during a most eventful year.

I join other members in paying tribute to the Secretary-General for his determined efforts to resolve various conflict situations across the globe and his endeavours to make the United Nations a more efficient and effective instrument of global governance in these challenging times.

We meet at a time of pervasive change and transition, a time in which global problems appear less susceptible to easy solutions, earlier concepts and approaches less relevant and existing institutions less effective. It is also a time of contradictions and paradoxes in which resurgent hopes are nurtured amidst deepening anxieties and bright new opportunities are overcast by unprecedented challenges in a world that is coalescing and fragmenting at the same time.

The euphoria which permeated the international community at the end of the cold war has dissipated and is being replaced by a growing sense of uncertainty, disquiet and disillusionment. With the sobering experience of the Gulf war and the horrendous incidence of "ethnic cleansing" and violence in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda, there is far less certainty now on how best to respond to the demands and vicissitudes of a world of deepening interdependence among countries and the globalization of ever more intricate and inter-linked problems of peace, security and development. Our greatest challenge, therefore, is how collectively to fashion a more effective system of global governance to manage the massive changes that are transforming the shape and substance of international relations in the decades ahead.

If the pursuit of this basic objective is to succeed, there can be no doubt that it should be based on the recognition of the United Nations as its centre-piece and principal mechanism. The United Nations is the only universal institution we have today, and any system of global governance, to be viable and to achieve common acceptance by the world community as a whole, must be firmly rooted in the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and organized on the precepts of sovereign equality, common interest and benefit, equitably shared responsibility and joint commitment to global cooperation.

It is therefore vitally important that the effectiveness and dynamism of our Organization be ensured and maintained. Since the United Nations was founded almost five decades ago, the world has changed almost beyond recognition, and international problems have become immensely more complex. The United Nations today bears a heavier load of responsibilities than it has ever borne. Ironically, at this time it is also saddled with a deepening financial crisis. This paradoxical situation, in which the United Nations is expected to deal with a multitude of problems while woefully strapped for funds, cannot continue without adverse consequences for the world community.

Just as important is the need to ensure that the United Nations system remains faithful to the democratic principles on which it was founded and attuned to the realities of the times. We therefore believe that the process of reforming the United Nations system should go beyond merely improving its procedures and practices and should, *inter alia*, take into account such essential aspects as the representation of Member States at all levels of the system and their effective participation in decision-making processes. The General Assembly should play a central role in shaping that process at the same time as its work is being continually rationalized.

On the question of an increase in the membership of the Security Council, my delegation has clearly defined its position on various occasions in the past. The last review of the Council's composition was undertaken nearly three decades ago. Since then there has been a tremendous increase in the number of United Nations Members, thus rendering the enlargement of the Council a matter of urgency. Such an increase should take into account the principle of equitable geographic

representation and accommodate the interests and concerns of the developing countries, which comprise the overwhelming majority in the Organization. Furthermore, my delegation supports the proposal to increase the number of permanent members of the Security Council. In this respect, it is our view that, while the principle of geographic representation is important, it should not be the only criterion to determine eligibility for new permanent members. We believe that other objective criteria are equally important: political, economic and demographic realities; a country's capability and record of contributing to the promotion of peace, security and economic development, both regionally and globally; and the commitment of States to assume the responsibilities inherent in such a status. In these endeavours our goals must remain the promotion of transparency, legitimacy, accountability and efficiency.

In the economic and social fields, as well as in development cooperation, it has been said that the United Nations system operates without sufficient coordination and coherence. However, in addressing this concern, we do not see the particular merit of a proposal for the establishment of an economic security council at this time. Rather, the Economic and Social Council should be further strengthened and should be allowed to assert its full role as envisioned in the United Nations Charter. In this regard, I think it would be productive to invite the Ministers responsible for finance and development planning, or other relevant Ministers, to participate in the deliberations on important development issues at the Economic and Social Council's high-level segment meetings. The United Nations should also continue to strengthen its coordination with the Bretton Woods institutions so as to achieve increased policy coherence and to enhance development cooperation.

Although the demise of the cold war has reduced the threat of nuclear war, it has not eliminated the danger posed by nuclear weapons. Nuclear disarmament remains an imperative. It is hoped that with further success in the critical area of limiting and reducing armaments, the quantitative growth of nuclear weapons will soon be curbed. Recent encouraging developments include a significant reduction of the world's two largest nuclear arsenals as a result of the successful conclusion of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II) and of the fact that a moratorium on nuclear tests continues to be observed by most of the nuclear-weapon States.

In this context, the importance of a comprehensive test-ban treaty as a major step towards nuclear disarmament and as an urgent measure to protect the environment cannot be overemphasized. For this reason, the Conference on Disarmament has been given a clear and explicit mandate to negotiate a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Unfortunately, lack of political will on the part of some nuclear-weapon States has created obstacles to progress in this vital work. It is essential that serious and concerted efforts be undertaken in the Conference on Disarmament in conjunction with the broader multilateral endeavours in the Amendment Conference on the partial test-ban Treaty to ensure the conclusion of a universal and effectively verifiable treaty within a fixed time-frame. Such a treaty, we believe, would serve as a truly credible instrument of a nuclear non-proliferation regime.

The convening of the 1995 review and extension Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) provides a unique opportunity to make a sober assessment of its implementation. It is beyond doubt that the question of the extension of the NPT is linked to such critical issues as nuclear disarmament, the dissemination of nuclear know-how for peaceful purposes, security assurances to non-nuclear States and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Hence, the issues we face next year should not be oversimplified to a mere choice between limited and unlimited duration or between conditional and unconditional extension of the NPT. The longevity of the Treaty will ultimately depend upon the resolution of these multifarious issues and the sincerity of the nuclear-weapon States in fulfilling their obligations.

Regional and subregional organizations continue to make substantial contributions to the cause of disarmament and peace. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Regional Forum of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was launched last July in Bangkok, reflecting the desire of the countries of the region to ensure a peaceful and stable political and security environment for their peoples. This forum is unique because it was not established in response to a crisis but, rather, as an exercise in preventive diplomacy to manage strategic change in such a way that a stable relationship among the major Powers as well as among the regional Powers will evolve gradually and peacefully over the next decade. At the same time ASEAN is intensifying its efforts to realize its blueprint for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality with a South-East Asian nuclear weapon-free zone as its component part. Its realization would be a major step towards stable peace in the region

and a significant regional contribution to global disarmament and non-proliferation.

Although the Asia-Pacific region now enjoys relative peace, it is by no means free of tension and the anxiety of potential conflict. Among the actual and potential problems that the region must face is the persistence of inter-State disputes, especially territorial disputes and overlapping claims of sovereignty which could intensify if their potential for conflict were not effectively managed. That was why in its Manila Declaration of 1992, ASEAN stressed that its Treaty of Amity and Cooperation should serve as a basis for the establishment of a code of international conduct in the area and thus called for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force. The positive response of the major Powers and of the countries of the region towards the Treaty serving as such a code of conduct at the first meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum makes it even more necessary to promote cooperative efforts among countries that have overlapping claims of sovereignty in the South China Sea in order to ensure the peaceful development of the area.

As regards the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, the agreement reached last August between the Governments of the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was a major step towards a resolution of this problem. We continue to believe that this complex issue can be resolved only through the exercise of mutual restraint and through sincere and sustained dialogue and negotiations.

In the Middle East, the pursuit of peace continues to gather momentum and promises to herald a new era. The historic Declaration of Principles signed between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Government of Israel over a year ago has been followed by the Accord signed in Cairo last March, which laid down the modalities for transition to Palestinian self-government in the Gaza Strip and Jericho and thus paved the way for the triumphant return of President Yasser Arafat to these areas. Yet another breakthrough is the signing of the Washington Declaration between Jordan and Israel which ended the state of war between them and opens the way for the conclusion of a comprehensive peace treaty.

While my delegation welcomes these positive developments, we are also acutely conscious of the formidable challenges that still lie ahead. Palestinian autonomy should now be widened to include the economic, social and cultural aspects of national life, and Palestinian self-rule should now be extended throughout occupied Palestinian territories. Furthermore, the international community should expedite its promised assistance to the Palestinian Authority in rebuilding the necessary infrastructures. It is also self-evident that progress on the other tracks of Arab-Israeli negotiations is a *sine qua non* for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) 338 (1973) and 425 (1978). The ultimate guarantee for peace is Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories, including the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the atrocities, senseless killings of civilians and "ethnic cleansing" perpetrated by the Bosnian Serbs have continued unabated. The pleas of the Bosnian Government for effective international intervention or at least the lifting of the ill-conceived arms embargo have gone unheeded. The savagery of the conflict has few historical precedents and the ambivalence of the international community has contributed to its perpetuation and the ever-present threat of a spill-over. By rejecting the latest peace plan proposed by the Contact Group, the Bosnian Serbs have dealt a serious set-back to international efforts to end the conflict.

Mr. Piriz Ballon (Uruguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The carnage cannot just go on. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to unequivocally pronounce itself on the non-applicability of resolution 713 (1991) concerning the imposition of an arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, in the face of the continued intransigence of the Bosnian Serbs, the Security Council must take strong and determined measures in order to ensure the realization of the peace plan. Concurrently, the international community should consider devising a mechanism for negotiations, including the convening of an appropriately structured international conference, to deal with the wider aspects of the conflict in and around the former Yugoslavia, leading ultimately to a comprehensive solution that would enable the people in that region to live securely in peace, free from aggression, domination and external interference.

Earlier this year, the people of South Africa finally put an end to apartheid by holding the first-ever non-racial elections and by subsequently installing the first, democratically elected government under President Nelson Mandela. We have all joyously welcomed this historic event as well as South Africa's resumption of its rightful place in the community of nations. Indonesia

looks forward to developing close and mutually beneficial cooperation with the new Government and the people of South Africa.

Elsewhere in Africa, however, we were deeply anguished to witness in Rwanda the rampage of violence which has triggered an exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries and has brought about a humanitarian crisis of catastrophic proportions. With the end of fighting and bloodshed and the establishment of the new government in Kigali, we hope that the parties concerned will resume the process of national reconciliation based on the Arusha Agreement, which indeed provides an appropriate framework for the purpose.

The situation in Somalia continues to be marked by recurrent outbreaks of violence and a deterioration of the security situation. We remain convinced that a solution to the civil strife in that country can only be achieved through sustained dialogue among all the parties, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In this context, we hope for the early convening of the national reconciliation conference in accordance with the Declaration of last March by the leaders of Somalia.

The entry into force of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea next month represents the culmination of efforts begun over two decades ago to create a new order for the oceans. The Convention, which Indonesia ratified in 1985, will make a significant contribution in promoting the peaceful uses of the seas and in ensuring their equitable utilization.

I do agree with the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Development" (A/48/935) when it cites the economy as being the engine of progress and of development as a whole. If I may carry the metaphor a little further, it may be appropriate to say that at present the world economy is a flawed engine that has stalled but is beginning to warm up again. It is flawed by the imbalances and inequities that have distorted one of its most important parts, the relationship between the developed and the developing economies. It has broken down in a long and devastating recession, but in recent times it has shown signs of recovery.

However, the aggregate statistics of world economic growth often conceal as much as they reveal. As aptly put by the 1994 World Economic and Social Survey, the world economy remains a complex mosaic of sharp contrasts, in which most developing countries are often too weak and too vulnerable to be able to compete successfully in the world market, thus risking their further marginalization and decline into extreme poverty. Hence, apart from the need to sustain non-inflationary, global economic growth, the urgent imperative continues to be the eradication of poverty and the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the developing countries on a sustained and sustainable basis.

If the engine for global progress and development is to carry mankind to a brighter future in the next century, then its parts must be brought into a more balanced, synergistic relationship and its functioning be made more effective and efficient. We have no alternative but to forge a new partnership for development involving all nations, developed and developing. It is therefore crucial that we bring to full realization General Assembly resolution 48/165 on the "Renewal of the dialogue on strengthening international economic cooperation for development through partnership". By adopting this resolution, the international community has acknowledged the indispensability of the principles of genuine interdependence, of mutual interest and benefit, and of equitably shared responsibility, in a new spirit of global partnership.

As a necessary corollary to this North-South partnership, South-South cooperation has become even more compelling, for the developing countries are called upon to shoulder an increasing share of the responsibility for world growth and development. We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General on this issue and also to the deliberations leading to the adoption of "An Agenda for Development".

As many advocated during the World Hearings on Development in June this year, as well as at the High-Level Segment Meeting of the Economic and Social Council, the Agenda should be action-oriented and should present an overall policy and priority framework for a balanced and comprehensive approach to development. It should reflect universal recognition and acceptance of the United Nations as the only Organization capable of dealing with issues of development as well as with issues of peace and security. It will also be necessary for the agencies, bodies and programmes of the United Nations to be organized in such a way as to enable them to implement the Agenda in an effective, efficient and coordinated manner, without necessarily creating a new body for this purpose. Obviously, there will be the need to generate the required political will in support of the Agenda. We look forward to seeing "An Agenda for

Development" serve as a fitting complement to "An Agenda for Peace".

One of the most important recent developments in the international economic sphere is the completion of the Uruguay Round with the signing of its Final Act in Marrakesh and the agreement to establish the World Trade Organization (WTO). Indonesia and the other developing countries have accepted the Uruguay Round package, in spite of the heavy obligations and challenges that it entails, because they anticipate that considerable opportunities for increased market access and indeed for world economic growth and prosperity will now be forthcoming. They also expect that the Uruguay Round package will provide the long-sought assurance of a rule-based and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system, free from the arbitrariness of unilateral action. Yet, we must confess to being concerned at the possibility of a tardy and long-drawn-out process of implementing the Final Act. Such an eventuality will negate much of its original intent and rob it of its positive impact, as was, regrettably, the experience with the Tokyo Round. Furthermore, the attempts to overload the WTO work programme with social clauses in our view represent protectionism in a thin guise and tend to nullify the few remaining comparative advantages of developing countries. For this reason we feel strongly that the process of ratification and implementation of the Uruguay Round agreements should not be linked to new issues that have little or no relevance to the development of a new international trading regime. All nations are called upon to marshal their political will and to accept inevitable shifts in comparative advantage without transferring the burden of adjustment to weaker economies.

Had relationships between developed and developing countries been more equitable, we would not today be faced with the problem of developing countries staggering under their external debt burden. While aggregate debt indicators have undoubtedly improved, mainly in response to various debt-relief measures, the external debt crisis still persists especially in the least developed countries where debt ratios have significantly worsened and continue to hamper the prospects for economic growth and development. A durable solution to the perennial debt question can only be secured through a development-oriented strategy formulated within the framework of shared responsibility and genuine partnership. Thus, rather than taking a one-sided view of the causes of external debt, there is an urgent need for all sides involved to adopt a coordinated approach.

As Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia has given the highest priority to resolving this crisis. President Soeharto took the initiative of conveying a memorandum on the debt of developing countries to the Chairman of the Group of Seven on the eve of their Tokyo Summit last year, inviting the G-7 to engage in dialogue on this issue. We are encouraged that the G-7 responded positively to the Non-Aligned Movement on this issue in Tokyo and then again last July in Naples, where, *inter alia*, it urged the Paris Club to pursue its efforts to improve the debt treatment of the poorest and most indebted countries and, where appropriate, to reduce the stock of debt as well as to increase concessionality for those countries facing special difficulties. Moreover, Indonesia has also recently hosted a ministerial meeting of non-aligned countries on debt and development, involving the most heavily indebted least developed countries. The meeting called upon the international community, particularly donors and international financial institutions, *inter alia*, to adopt a common set of principles for future debt negotiations, which include a once-and-for-all arrangement for settling all outstanding debts, and the application of debt reduction to all categories of debt, including multilateral debts. A report of the meeting has been submitted to the Secretary-General for possible consideration at this session of the General Assembly.

As a firm believer in the rights of peoples to development, including social development, Indonesia is deeply committed to participating actively in the World Summit for Social Development. The World Conference on Women in 1995 equally deserves total support from the international community. Indonesia is committed to the adoption of a conference declaration calling for de facto as well as *de jure* equality between men and women, the integration of gender concerns into sustainable development, and a programme of action to achieve those goals.

As we prepare ourselves to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization next year, I sense that despite the frustration of our hopes after the end of the cold war, we are about to open a window on a future that truly does not belong to the nations of the North or the South, the West or the East, but to undivided humanity. Perhaps the advent of wisdom is always a gradual process. First we came to the realization that the human race could not survive in a state of cold war against itself; that our problems are global and systemic in nature, and thus that truly effective solutions to these

problems should be integral and so comprehensive they must be carried out by a global partnership.

Without that partnership, we should now realize, our bright hopes are unattainable. As we work to complete "An Agenda for Development" so as to match it with "An Agenda for Peace", we are actually etching the fine details of our common vision of a better and more unified world. It is said that the future belongs to those who have a clear vision of it. That may be so, but only if we are faithful to that vision, persevere in its pursuit, and thereby prove ourselves worthy of it.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia, His Excellency Mr. Alexander Chikvaidze.

Mr. Chikvaidze (Georgia): I should like to begin by extending my congratulations to Mr. Amara Essy on his election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. It is a fitting acknowledgement of his considerable experience, as well as a tribute to his country's high standing in the international community.

I should also like to offer greetings and special words of gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the attention and careful consideration he has accorded to my country's problems and for his selfless devotion to the cause of securing a safer and saner world for future generations. The Georgian people are looking forward with great anticipation to his forthcoming official visit to Georgia.

First of all, I would like to convey to the Assembly the greetings and best wishes for productive work from the Head of State and Chairman of the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

Just over two years have passed since the day I had the privilege of ushering my country into the United Nations as its one hundred seventy-ninth Member and addressing the Assembly from this rostrum. It was a moment of joy and celebration for my nation.

Many events have taken place in those two years, and they certainly cannot serve as a basis for euphoria and complacency.

My country has only recently set out on the arduous journey of building a democratic society. It is encountering numerous internal, as well as external, problems in its efforts. Despite fair and democratic elections and the forming of government structures, the country continues to languish in a deep economic and political crisis.

The international community has extended a helping hand to Georgia, and I should like to convey our appreciation and gratitude to the Governments of the United States of America, the Russian Federation, Germany, other States members of the European Union and Turkey, to name but a few, as well as to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, for their invaluable assistance to my country in times of hardship.

Granted, a large measure of the problems facing Georgia and all those nations which have only recently reverted to independence and normal development have domestic roots and must be addressed, first and foremost, by the countries themselves. But let us leave the internal aspect aside for the moment and concentrate on the international environment, of which these nations, as well as all other nations, are a part.

With the demise of the cold war the world underwent profound changes. The risk of an all-out nuclear catastrophe receded, and the world thus became a less dangerous place; but at the same time it became less stable and less predictable. The relationship between States and other actors on the international scene has changed, too.

The system of post-war international relations was tailored to the economic, political, ideological, geographic and other realities of that era. One of these realities was a deep realization of the fact that a totalitarian regime of the fascist variety had been defeated. Therefore, despite its major flaws, the post-war bipolar system generally responded to the demands of the times and somehow ensured security and stability on our planet.

Our generation witnessed the fall of another totalitarian regime with the downfall of communist ideology and of its followers. This resulted in deep changes in the nature of international relations. Different demands are being dictated by the times and different challenges are now facing the community of nations. This end of a whole era of human history, however, was not followed by the creation of a new system of international relations that would correspond to the realities of the contemporary world, as happened some 50 years ago. International political institutions, as well as political thought in general, found themselves unprepared

for the changes, and they continue to apply stop-gap measures to this very day.

Today's political leaders seem to have underestimated both the essence and the importance of these changes; hence the inability to cope with today's problems or with the challenges of the post-confrontational world. The infrastructure, principles, tools and mentality of international relations need to be adapted to the changed circumstances.

Therein lies the external aspect of the problems that the newly emerging independent States, including my own country, are facing. They are taking their first unsure steps on the road to a democratic society, a long and difficult road in a world that is still reeling from the nature of the changes and that realizes neither the extent of the predicament these nations face nor the stake it has in their existence and stable development.

Many of these nations, including my own, can, unfortunately, be described as "hot spots": they are the unhealed wounds that cover the body of our planet. These open wounds cry out for radical surgery, while the peace-keeping activities of the international community, despite its best efforts, tend in some cases to resemble cautious treatment with prescribed medication.

Perhaps, as I am the Foreign Minister of Georgia, it is not for me to complain about the deficiencies of the United Nations in terms of its peace-keeping activities. The Organization as a whole, its Security Council, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his Special Envoy, Ambassador Brunner of Switzerland, have accorded a great deal of attention to the problems of my tormented country. On the issue of Georgia's Abkhazia region alone, nine Security Council resolutions have been adopted, numerous missions have been dispatched and the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) has been extended. Alas, this has not proved to be sufficient. Clear decisions and bold, timely action are what the peoples of the world expect of the United Nations and of the Member States that make up the Organization.

In this regard, I would like to note how useful and timely the Georgian Government found the recent visit to Georgia of the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Madeleine Albright. That visit also demonstrates the attention President Clinton attaches to events in Georgia.

While I would not want to belabour the issue of "hot spots," the predicament of my own country does not allow me to ignore this problem altogether. We would hate to think that yet another experiment is perhaps being conducted in Georgia, the result of which may well have a direct bearing on the security and sovereignty of other nations.

It is hard to describe the disappointment - and sometimes apathy - which the Georgian nation is feeling with regard to whether the international community will be able to promote a peaceful settlement of the Abkhazian conflict.

These feelings have created a dangerous and volatile political situation domestically. A wave of indignation is rising in Parliament and among the people at the inability to resolve this conflict - and the efforts to do so have been going on for more than a year now - and allow almost 300,000 displaced persons, who escaped physical extermination, to return to their homes and continue their lives.

At the heart of the Abkhazian conflict is an attempt by forces of aggressive separatism, bolstered by external support, to wrench a piece of territory away from a sovereign State and to create, in that part of Georgia, a provincial dictatorship based on ethnic hatred, intolerance and discrimination.

We appealed to the United Nations in the hope that it would be responsive to our desire to settle the conflict by peaceful means through a United Nations peace-keeping operation. But our hopes were only partially fulfilled. Despite almost a dozen resolutions of the Security Council, Member States could find neither the financial resources, the military contingents nor the political will to order a peace-keeping operation in Georgia.

Convinced of the possibility of a fair solution under the auspices of the United Nations, the Georgian Government has been negotiating with the separatists in good faith all this time under the auspices of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with the Russian Federation as facilitator and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as an observer. As a result, a number of agreements have been signed, which are designed to promote the return of the displaced persons to their homes and a settlement of the conflict.

But the bitter memory of a string of broken promises and unfulfilled obligations on the part of the separatists confirms how naive it is to expect a forthcoming position from a regime that conducts "ethnic cleansing" and genocide against the Georgian population. Predictably, the Abkhazian separatists are using far-fetched pretexts to continue ignoring their commitments under the agreements that have been signed.

Frustrated in its hopes for a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Abkhazia, the Government of the Republic of Georgia sent a similar appeal to the heads of the States members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). A decision was reached and a CIS peace-keeping force was deployed in the zone of conflict. While its presence is beneficial and provides hope for a settlement, we feel that it could be more active and proceed beyond the stage of disengaging the parties in conflict.

The Abkhazian conflict is not a problem for Georgia alone. Believe me, I am not saying this in order to lay our problems at somebody else's doorstep. This conflict has direct and dangerous implications for the entire world. There are also compelling reasons why the world should be concerned with finding a solution to this problem.

Above all, we believe that the international community simply cannot act as an outside observer when a blatant attempt is being made against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State and when peace and stability are threatened. Allowing separatism to attain its goals in one country would set a precedent that could start a chain reaction throughout the world. And how many of us represented here today can safely say that their countries, their peoples, are immune from this danger?

And, lastly, the Caucasus is one of those areas in the world which have a geopolitical importance and bearing on the stability of large regions of the planet. The Caucasus is one of the world's few crossroads where North, South, East and West meet, and where continents, cultures, interests and strategies encounter one another. If peace and stability cannot be maintained in the Caucasus, they cannot be maintained anywhere.

In this regard, it is tragic that our closest neighbours, Armenia and Azerbaijan, have been unable to resolve their differences for so many years now. This conflict, too, tears at the fabric of the Caucasus and greatly increases the instability of the region, as well as the misery of hundreds of thousands of people.

It is my Government's firm position that the Abkhazian conflict can and should be resolved by peaceful means. A great deal of effort, delicate statesmanship and deep commitment are required from all sides.

The Georgian Government has to be very meticulous in elaborating a modern, workable and fair structure for its ethnically and culturally diverse population, a diversity which throughout the centuries has been a source of friendship, stability and pride, and never of tension or hatred. Most important, it has to create a strong economic base for its people, one that would prevent economic hardships from taking on a political and ethnic character.

Georgia will never accept the loss of any part of its territory. Not only because its territory is not large, but also because what it has is incontestably its own - every square inch of it. The leaders of the Abkhazian separatists have to realize this. They too have to find the political courage and will, the flexibility and the foresight, to negotiate in good faith and come to a settlement that would be fair and lasting, so that future generations of Georgians and Abkhazians could forget this one dark page in their fathers' lives and pick up in friendship and peace where their grandfathers left off.

The Russian Federation is an active participant in the process designed to find a peaceful solution to the Abkhazian conflict. It has taken on a great responsibility with regard to this peace process. We firmly believe that, despite the feelings of some political groups, the Russian Federation, as a great Power - and President Yeltsin, as the leader of that nation - does indeed want to see a strong, stable, sovereign, united and friendly Georgia on its southern border. Any other considerations would be contrary to logic. We are gratified that in his address to this Assembly a few days ago President Yeltsin alluded to this when he said that Russia's relations towards other States members of the Commonwealth of Independent States are based on good will and mutual benefit. In short, it is a time to think not about the mistakes of the past, but about the possibilities for the future.

Georgia has only recently joined the community of nations as a full-fledged member. And yet this period has been filled with events of great intensity and emotion for us. We feel an obligation to share our experience and thoughts in a number of areas which, we believe,

will contribute to the effectiveness of our collective efforts in the future.

We live in troubled times and are witness to rapid, unpredictable changes in the world. It is of paramount importance that contemporary political thought bring existing international institutions into conformity with the international political realities of today. It would seem that even such a representative body as the United Nations, if it is to continue to be ahead of events and fulfil its role as the parliament of man in a new situation, may have to effect some changes in its structure.

The reforms - prompted by the times - which the Organization is about to embark upon, the efforts of the Secretary-General to implement them, and the consent of the majority of the Member States are evidence that the time has come for a new era in international relations.

The number of Member States has more than doubled since the creation of the United Nations. We fully support the proposal to reflect these changes by increasing the numerical composition of the Security Council to 21, and we believe that the candidacies of Germany and Japan are appropriate for inclusion as new permanent members of the enlarged Security Council. Apart from reflecting the political and economic weight of these nations, this would also enable us finally to bring to a close the legacy of the Second World War and the cold war.

In considering the possibilities for increasing the number of permanent and non-permanent members of the Council, one of the main criteria, in our view, should be the involvement and role of member States in maintaining universal peace and stability. Although we see this consideration as a crucial one, other aspects, such as equitable geographical representation, should not be neglected either.

The task of creating a modern comprehensive system of ensuring peace and security in the world requires an increase in the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice, the main judicial body of the United Nations. We share the concern of the Secretary-General that the Court, the most important instrument for the settlement of disputes, is not being fully utilized for this purpose. More efficient use of the International Court would, undoubtedly, reinforce the ability of the United Nations to promote and strengthen peace. In this regard, we fully support the initiative of the Secretary-General to recognize the universal jurisdiction of the International Court, in accordance with Article 36 of its Statute, and on the basis of the recommendations put forward in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277).

Efforts aimed at creating a comprehensive system of international security can be effective today only if they are applied at both the global and the regional level. In our view, the ties between the global and regional security systems are inadequate for today's needs, and are maintained in a haphazard way. In this regard we consider it timely to raise the issue of achieving a higher level of interaction between global and regional security systems by concluding a series of special "form" treaties that will ensure more effective use, in close coordination, of their respective mechanisms.

Without prejudice to United Nations rules and regulations and to the provisions of the Charter, or to the statutes of the regional systems, these treaties should provide, *inter alia*, for regional organizations to exercise consultative and controlling functions on behalf, and on the authorization, of the United Nations.

In various international forums we often discuss the specific challenges of the post-confrontational world. Separatism, especially in its aggressive, extremist form, is one of the most dangerous of these challenges, and it is spreading like a cancer all over the planet. We believe that the creation of a legal basis for the containment of aggressive separatism is imperative and long overdue so that situations, such as the one in Georgia, will not flare up in other parts of the world in future, or if they do, they will be localized and defused in a timely manner.

We propose that clear provisions be inserted into international legal documents, outlawing aggressive, extremist separatism from its first stirrings. It is becoming more and more clear that the mere reiteration and confirmation of the principle of territorial integrity and the inviolability of borders is insufficient, all the more so since it is being flagrantly disregarded in many instances.

These legal provisions should also envisage a strict embargo on military deliveries and swift, surgical economic measures against separatist movements that have turned to armed struggle and violence, as well as a mechanism to use, in exceptional cases, the most decisive measure - military force.

The military forces for these operations could be set up in one of two ways: either United Nations stand-by

forces, an option which would entail considerable financial expense, or special well-trained units within the armed forces of each Member State which, when needed, could be put under the direct command of the United Nations Military Staff Committee, which itself could become more active and energetic.

While the second option seems more realistic at present, I would still like to stress the virtues of early preventive measures against such conflicts. Perhaps many of them could be localized and defused at an early stage, if the United Nations had relatively small, mobile forces of rapid reaction and deployment at its disposal. These forces could be made up on an international voluntary basis, thereby emphasizing their impartial and unbiased nature. They could be rapidly deployed in the conflict zone and, acting within a limited mandate, could ensure the disengagement of the conflicting parties in order to create the conditions for the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force.

In this regard, it would also seem indispensable to us to set up a special department within the United Nations Secretariat the sole purpose of which would be to work to resolve conflict situations. Ten highly experienced and respected political figures could form the nucleus of such a department. To perform their functions they would be vested with special rights and obligations.

Within such a department a special unit could be set up to coordinate the actions of the rapid deployment force. It would ensure the collection of information and intelligence data, and generally function as operations headquarters. The unit could also provide valuable early-warning information on potential conflict situations involving separatist tendencies.

To anticipate a natural question on the financing of such forces, I should say that, yes, it will undoubtedly entail additional financial, material means and human resources. This, however, is a case of the end clearly justifying the means. As we have paid a far greater price for being late so often in the past, the international community can no longer afford such a luxury.

A few days ago a proposal was made very forcefully from this rostrum that, in order to safeguard and uphold the rights of national minorities, the principles of the Declaration on the rights of national minorities should be embodied in the legislation of all member States. We firmly support the principle of providing national minorities with wide political, economic and cultural rights, and of ensuring civil and human rights for everyone. We would thus like to go a step further and propose to codify all aspects of this issue.

Since every right presumes a responsibility, we believe that it is imperative that international legal documents and national legislations of Member States, along with the rights of national minorities, also incorporate provisions on the responsibilities of these minorities towards the country of which they form a part.

In view of the rapidly growing role of individual leaders and personalities in international relations today, it would seem appropriate to us to consider also the issue of responsibility for an individual's role in the violation of human rights and liberties of persons, or groups of persons. Thus, we fully support the proposal to work out a declaration on the rights and responsibilities of individuals, groups and political bodies to ensure commonly accepted freedoms and human rights. It is precisely in this context that Georgia supported the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

I have attempted to outline some of my Government's thoughts with regard to the changes that it thinks should be made in the structure and work of the Organization in view of the many profound changes in the international landscape today. While these are just some elements, a comprehensive and balanced vision of the needed changes is laid out by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in "An Agenda for Peace" and other documents. The implementation of the changes would go a long way towards eliminating many of the problems that we are discussing in this Hall and would also represent, as Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze put it so aptly, a very timely "blood transfusion" for the entire international system.

An important period is approaching in the life of the Organization. Next year we will be commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. We have reached a mature age which allows us to take stock of the Organization's many accomplishments, but also one that obliges us to look ahead to what still needs to be done.

A half century of existence and experience confers even greater responsibility upon the Organization, as well as upon individual Member States. It imposes grander objectives, but also opens up wider horizons. Some of these objectives can be attained in our lifetime, while

others will be left to succeeding generations. It is our responsibility to provide a legacy which will serve as a stepping-stone for mankind to make a leap into the twenty-first century and land softly on solid ground.

Georgia is a small country, but it is a democratic country, and its foreign-policy objective is to have peaceful, friendly relations with all the nations of the world. Georgia will not be a passive observer of international events; it will carry its fair share of the responsibilities of the international community and make its contribution to achieving our common goals.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.